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A History of
the United States

VOLUME V

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Samuel Adams

Portrait of

Samuel Adams

From original oil painting
from life by John Singleton Copley,
now owned by the city of Boston
and deposited in the
Museum of Fine Arts

◆

Signature from an autograph letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

FROM THEIR EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

ELROY McKENDREE AVERY

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES
VOLUME V

CLEVELAND
THE BURROWS BROTHERS
COMPANY ~~ MCMVIII

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PREFACE

THE fourth volume of this work had to do largely with the elimination of France from America. The French and Indian war had given English colonists a military training and made them conscious of their strength. In the glory of the final triumph they had a pride not less than that of Englishmen across the sea. But the issue of that war had cleared away the menace of traditional enemies at the door and made possible a close and quick consideration of economic and political grievances that had been ill-borne at best and that were now extended and intensified by new conditions born of the supreme struggle of insular and continental England.

The next issue was to be one of constitutional government, an issue that was pivoted on the question of how far English laws were binding on those who had no share in making them. To the consideration of this question, as solved in the dozen years that filled the gap between the peace of Paris and the declaration of American independence, this volume is devoted.

My obligation to Dr. Paul L. Haworth, as acknowledged in the preface to my fourth volume, has been enlarged by his assistance in the preparation of the fifth. I am also deeply indebted to Professor William MacDonald of Brown University for valuable help. For the many friendly suggestions that I have received and for the continued approval of readers and reviewers, I am grateful.

ELROY M. AVERY

Cleveland, January, 1908

CONTENTS

Introductory: Lists of Maps and Illustrations.
I. For the Building of a Nation 1
II. On the Way to Revolution 28
III. The Stamp Act 46
IV. The Repeal of the Stamp Act — The Mason-Dixon Line 64
V. The Townshend Acts 81
VI. Repeal of the Townshend Acts . . . 99
VII. Strengthening the Colonial Body . . . 119
VIII. The Beginning of Colonial Union . . 134
IX. The Tea Episode 154
X. Over the Mountains 171
XI. The Five Intolerable Acts 189
XII. Moving Toward Union 200
XIII. The First Continental Congress . . 211
XIV. The War Begun 226
XV. The First Months of War 257
XVI. The Second Continental Congress — Its First Session 274
XVII. Beleaguered Boston 292
XVIII. The Second Continental Congress — September to December 315
XIX. The Northern Campaign 323
XX. The Temper of the Middle and Southern Colonies 344
XXI. The First Attempt upon the South . . 362
XXII. Independence 370
Appendices 401
Bibliographical Appendix 407

NOTE. — A general index will be found in the last volume of this work.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Samuel Adams . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Portrait:

This is the well-known Copley portrait, deposited by the city of Boston in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced in colors in close facsimile of the original painting.

Autograph:

From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Rhode Island Census, 1774 2

From original in collection of Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence.

The Avery House in Dedham, Massachusetts, built by William Avery, about 1675 . . 2

From photograph in collection of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston.

The Mansion at Westover, Virginia . . . 3

From a recent photograph.

Tobacco Roller, and Sketch showing how it was Used 3

From model and sketch in the National Museum, Washington.

Plow used at Boxford, Massachusetts, on the Morning of April 19, 1775 4

Photographed and colored from the original in the Essex Institute, Salem.

Ax, used about 1750 4

From collection of Essex Institute.

Advertisement for a Runaway Slave . . . 5

From contemporary issue of the *Maryland Gazette.*

A Clockmaker's Advertisement 6

From contemporary print.

A Boy's Shoe, worn previous to the Revolution . 7

From original in the Essex Institute.

A Loom 7

From original in the Essex Institute.

A Reel 7

From original in the Essex Institute.

Carpenter's Tools of Colonial Times 8
Including a wooden square, auger and bit, reamer and adze. Reproduced directly from the original articles kindly loaned by Mr. John E. L. Hazen, of Shirley, Massachusetts.

Tooth Extractor, and Surgeon's Saw 9
From originals in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Saddle-bags in which Mrs. Ruth Perley Curtis of Boxford carried Food and Powder to her Husband, Lieutenant John Curtis, fighting at Bunker Hill 9
From originals in the Essex Institute.

Watch and Chain once worn by John Gedney Clark 10
From originals in the Essex Institute.

Spectacles and Case of Colonial Times 10
From originals in the Essex Institute.

Old Wall Paper at the Quincy Mansion, Quincy, Massachusetts 11
Photographed and colored in close facsimile.

Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Virginia . 12
From a photograph. The church was built in 1678 and rebuilt in 1715.

Foot Stove 12
From original in the Essex Institute.

Warming Pan 13
From original in the Essex Institute.

Steelyard 14
From original in the Essex Institute.

Old Panniers 14
From original in the Essex Institute.

Conestoga Wagon 16
From model in the United States National Museum, Washington.

One-horse Chaise 16
From the Essex Institute, said to be the only one of Revolutionary period in any museum.

Routes of Travel with Table of Distances, from Philadelphia 17
Reproduced from *Philadelphia Almanack*, 1779, in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Stage Coach Announcement, May 20, 1772 . . . 18
From original broadside in New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Tavern-sign of Israel Putnam's Inn, called the "General Wolfe" (in colors) 18
From collection of Connecticut Historical Society. The illustration shows its present appearance.

Leather Mail Bag, carried between Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven, in 1775 . . . 19
From collection of the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

Joseph Wanton, the Tory Governor of Rhode Island (Portrait and Autograph) 19
From original painting in Rhode Island State House; autograph from a letter in the Emmet Collection of the New York Public Library.
John Hancock's Double Chair (in colors) 20
From collection of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Fire Bucket 20
Lamp used about 1775 20
Old-time Umbrella (in original colors) . . . 20
Old Kettle or Dutch Oven 21
Candle Mold 21
The five preceding objects reproduced from originals in the collection of the Essex Institute.
Horn-book 22
From Andrew W. Tuer's *History of the Horn-Book.* His reproduction is from "an absolutely immaculate horn-book in the collection of Mr. Robert Drane of Cardiff. It was found wrapped up with two others of the same kind, whose whereabouts has long ago been lost sight of, in the drawer of a Bath bookseller in 1820, when the business changed hands." Original size is 2¼ by 4¼ inches.
View of William and Mary College . . . 23
From a photograph.
Seal of Harvard College 23
Engraved about 1764, and for many years used on the "deturs" or prizes given for scholarships.
Enlistment Blank, with engraved View of Fort Hill, Boston 25
From an original print in the Essex Institute.
A Colonial Printing-press and Type-case . . 26
Said to have been used by Franklin. Preserved by the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.
A Pistol of Revolutionary Time 27
From the collection of the Essex Institute.
Shipping-bill, dated December 15, 1764 . . 31
Reproduced directly from the original document, loaned for that purpose by the Essex Institute.
We are especially indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow, Secretary, for generous advice in the selection and assistance in photographing the numerous objects in the Essex Institute which appear in the foregoing pages and further on.
Governor Francis Bernard (Portrait and Autograph) 31
Portrait photographed by special permission from original painting by Copley in Christ Church College, Oxford.
Autograph from letter of October 27, 1764, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).
Portrait of James Otis 32
Reproduced in original colors of portrait in the Old State House, Boston.

Title-page of Otis's Pamphlet, *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay* . . . 34
Reproduced from a copy of the original edition in the Boston Athenæum.

Autograph of Charles Townshend 35
From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Autograph of George Grenville 36
From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Portrait of Peter Faneuil 39
From portrait in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Exterior and Interior View of Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty" 40
Both are modern views based upon photographs in colors.

Coat of Arms of James Otis 48
Based upon design in *A Genealogical and Historical Memoir of the Family of Otis*, by Horatio Nelson Otis, and printed in correct heraldic colors.

Title-page of Stephen Hopkins's Pamphlet, *The Rights of Colonies Examined* 52
From original edition in library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

A Page from *Boston Post Boy and Advertiser*, May 27, 1765, ... *between* 54 *and* 55
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Portrait of Isaac Barré 55
From mezzotint, published in 1771, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

A Two-shilling Revenue Stamp of 1765 . . 55
From an original specimen in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Silver Head of the Mace used in the Virginia House of Burgesses up to the Revolution . 57
Redrawn from a copyrighted photograph by permission of Miss Edyth Carter Beveridge of Richmond, Virginia.

Patrick Henry (Portrait and Autograph) . . 58
Reproduced from the Sully painting, owned by Mrs. Matthew Bland Harrison, a great-granddaughter of Henry, and loaned to the State Library at Richmond, Virginia. Sully worked from a miniature on ivory, painted direct from life by a French artist, and Chief-justice John Marshall and others attest the fidelity of this likeness.
We are indebted to Mrs. Elizabeth Henry Lyons, another great-granddaughter, for kind assistance in securing this reproduction.

Broadside issued by the Maryland Sons of Liberty 59
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society.

Autographs of the Twenty-eight Delegates appointed to the Stamp Act Congress . . *between* 60 *and* 61
Collected from various original documents in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Portrait of John Dickinson 62
Reproduced from Peale's painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.
Last Page of the Petition to the House of Lords . 62
From original document in the Library of Congress.
First Page of the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Issue of October 31, 1765 . . 66
From an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).
Broadside of Verses entitled, "A Dose for the Tories" 69
From print in the Library of Congress.
Broadside announcing the Repeal of the Stamp Act . . . . . *between* 72 *and* 73
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Fragment of the Statue of William Pitt in New York 74
It is interesting to note that the statues of the king and of Pitt were voted on the same day by the New York assembly; were carried to New York from London on the same vessel four years later, and were, in the year when independence was declared, pulled down by opposing factions—the king being molded into bullets to be used against his own troops and the minister wantonly decapitated by the king's forces, in order to vent their spleen against their fellow countryman whom their enemies revered as a friend and ally. This fragment of Pitt's statue is preserved by the New York Historical Society.
Large Lantern that hung upon the Liberty Tree at the Illumination in Honor of the Repeal of the Stamp Act 74
From original in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.
Portraits of George III. and Queen Charlotte . 74
From photographs kindly supplied by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.
Penn's Order for the Survey of the Circular Boundary between the Counties of Chester (Pennsylvania) and New Castle (now Delaware) and Report of the Commission . *between* 76 *and* 77
Reproduced from the original documents in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.
One of the Stones marking the Pennsylvania and Maryland Boundary 77
From a photograph.
Map of the Topography of the Region . . 78
Map showing the various Surveys of the Curved Boundary 79
Compiled by Dr. Paul Leland Haworth.
Pitt Medal 82
From the Emmet Collection of coins.

Bernard's Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 6, 1766 82
From original broadside in collection of the New York Historical Society.

Plan of New York in 1767 83
Facsimile of a modern engraving of a contemporary map.

Portrait of Lord North (in colors) 86
From original crayon drawing by Nathaniel Dance, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Title-page of Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer* . 87
From the original edition in the Library of Congress.

James Bowdoin's Desk 87
From the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

John Hancock's Sideboard 88
From the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

View of Castle William 90
From a line-engraving made probably in 1770, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Lord Hillsborough (Portrait and Autograph) . . 91
From an engraving made about 1780; autograph from a letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Christian Remick's "Perspective View of the Blockade of Boston," 1768 . . . . . 94, 95
Close facsimile of original water-color sketch in the Essex Institute. It measures 61⅜ by 12⅞ inches. Six copies of this view are known to be extant, all varying in some details.

Paul Revere's View of Boston, 1768 . . . 96
Facsimile of a copy of the original engraving in colors in the collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Statue of Lord Botetourt standing in front of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia 97
From a photograph.

Autograph of Lord Botetourt 97
From a letter of July 31, 1769, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Iron Stove or "Warming Machine" used in the Virginia House of Burgesses 100
Preserved in the Virginia State Library.

Autograph of John Wilkes 101
From a letter, February 4, 1769, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Title-page of *Junius* 102
From a copy of the original edition in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence.

View of Old State House, Boston, 1791, from Washington Street 103
From *Massachusetts Magazine.*

Autograph of Thomas Preston 107
From a military document, dated June 25, 1767, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

The Bloody Massacre on the Streets of Boston, March 5, 1770, engraved and colored by Paul Revere 108
Reproduced in reduced facsimile by special permission from a copy of the original engraving kindly loaned by the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. The engraved portion, including lettering, measures 8¾ x 10 inches.

Indictment of Captain Thomas Preston for Killing Samuel Maverick and others in the Boston Massacre 109
From original manuscript in Old State House, Boston.

Boston Massacre Monument (in colors) . . 110

Title-page of the Published Narrative of the Massacre 111
From a copy of the original edition in the Boston Athenæum.

Mayor Hicks's Proclamation for Preservation of Order in New York 113
From original broadside in possession of the New York Historical Society.

Black-list published in Edes and Gill's *North American Almanack*, 1770 114

Medalet of John Wilkes 116
From the Emmet Collection of coins.

Portraits of Thomas Hutchinson and his Wife . 124
From oil portraits in collection of Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Portrait of William, Lord Mansfield 128
From engraving of portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the Emmet Collection of the New York Public Library.

Map of the Regulators' War 129

Title-page of *A Fan for Fanning* 130
From a copy of the original pamphlet in the New York Public Library.

Early Map of Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys . 131
Redrawn from Pearce's *Annals of Luzerne County*, Philadelphia, 1866, kindly supplied by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, corresponding secretary of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

View of Brown University in 1793 132
A southwest view of the college, garden, and president's house. Reproduced from print in possession of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Silver Goblet saved from the "Gaspee" by Captain Abraham Whipple 136
Now in collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Earl of Dartmouth (Portrait and Autograph). 137
Portrait from an engraving in *London Magazine*, October, 1780; autograph

from letter of October 19, 1774, in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Title-page of Pamphlet, *The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston* 140
From a copy of the original edition in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence.

View of the Birth-place of Warren, Roxbury, Massachusetts 141
Built in 1720; taken down in 1846. Reproduced from an engraving in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Summons to Arthur Fenner to Appear before the Committee of Inquiry to testify regarding the Burning of the "Gaspee" 146
From original in collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Royal Instructions to Commissioners appointed to Investigate the burning of the "Gaspee". . *between* 146 *and* 147
From original document in the office of the Secretary of State, Providence.

Ballad on the burning of the "Gaspee". . . *between* 146 *and* 147
From original in collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Virginia Resolves published by the Boston Committee for Distribution in other Towns . 148
From a print kindly loaned by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet from his private collection.

Portrait of Thomas Cushing 148
From original painting in the Essex Institute.

A Page from the South Carolina Gazette . . *between* 148 *and* 149

Dinner Plate owned by Governor Thomas Hutchinson 149
From collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Title-page of the Hutchinson Letters . . . 152
From a copy of the original edition in the Essex Institute.

Portrait of Alexander Wedderburn, Baron Loughborough 156
Reproduced from an engraving of painting by James Northcote, R. A. Copy in New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

The "Earl Grey" Portrait of Franklin 157
From the original portrait by Benjamin Wilson, painted from life in 1759, now in the White House, Washington, D. C. During the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1778, several British officers were quartered in Franklin's own house, among them Sir Charles Grey. On his staff was Major André. When the British left the town, André took this picture for his commanding officer. It was carried to England and for more than

a century and a quarter hung on the walls of Howick House, the home of the Greys. On the bi-centennial of Franklin's birth in 1906, the governor-general of Canada, Albert Henry George, fourth Earl Grey and a great-grandson of Sir Charles Grey, most graciously restored this portrait of Franklin, as a gift in commemoration of the occasion, to the American nation. This portrait was regarded by Franklin as a very excellent likeness and this fact, in connection with the circumstances of its capture and return, endow it with greatest interest. The canvas measures 24 x 59 inches.

The Alarm, Number 1 159

The first of a series of papers relative to the East India Company's monopoly of trade. Reproduced from original in collection of the New York Historical Society.

Warning issued by the Sons of Liberty . . . 161

From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

View of the Old South Meeting-house . . . 163

Section of William Price's "A Southeast View of ye great Town of Boston in New England in America," published in 1743, showing the building erected in 1729.

Original is in possession of Dr. James B. Ayer.

Map of Boston, 1765–75, Showing Places of Interest 165

Based upon Faden's map.

Compiled by David Maydole Matteson, A. M.

Punch Bowl used by the Boston "Tea-party" on the Afternoon before the Tea was thrown Overboard 166

From collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

China Tea-caddy 166

Holds some of the tea found in the pockets and boots of Colonel John Crane, when taken injured to his home, after participating as one of the "Indians" who helped throw the cargo of tea overboard in Boston Harbor. From original owned by Mrs. Richard Perkins and deposited in the Old State House, Boston.

Portrait of George Robert Twelves Hewes, Member of the Boston Tea-party 167

From oil portrait painted from life in 1835 by J. G. Cole, in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Portrait of Thomas Melville, Member of the Boston Tea-party 167

From oil portrait in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Pocket-book of Colonel Abner Cheever, Member of the Boston Tea-party 167

From original in the Essex Institute.

Handbill issued by the New York Vigilance Committee 168

From original in collection of the New York Historical Society.

Handbill issued by the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee 169

From a print in the private collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

Receipt for Iroquois Lands sold to the Penns at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix 173
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Map illustrating Dunmore's War and the Proposed New Colonies in the West . *between* 174 *and* 175
Prepared by Dr. Paul Leland Haworth and David Maydole Matteson, A. M.

Lord Dunmore (Portrait and Autograph) . . 180
Portrait in original colors reproduced from painting in Virginia State Library, Richmond; autograph from an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Coat of Arms of Lord Dunmore 181
From Sir Robert Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*; reproduced in correct heraldic colors.

Map of the Battle of the Great Kanawha . . 183
Prepared by David Maydole Matteson, A. M.

"The Bostonians paying the Excise Man, or, Tarring and Feathering," a Cartoon published in London in 1774 190
From a lithographed print in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

First Page of the Boston Port Bill . . . 191
From original edition in the Library of Congress.

Title-page of the printed Edition of Burke's Speech on American Taxation 196
From copy of the original edition in the New York State Library, Albany.

Coat of Arms of Thomas Gage 202
From Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*; reproduced in correct heraldic colors.

Portion of Document sent by the Boston Committee of Correspondence to various Towns, announcing the Passage of the Port Act and soliciting United Action by the Colonies . . . 203
From original in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

Title-page of Josiah Quincy's Pamphlet on the Boston Port Bill 204
From a copy of the original edition in the New York Public Library.

Autograph of Christopher Gadsden . . . 207
From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Map of British and Other Possessions in North America, 1775 212
Compiled by David Maydole Matteson, A. M.

John Hancock's Crimson Velvet Coat . . . 214
From original in collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston.

View of North Square, Boston 217
From heliotype from a sketch by George R. Tolman, in Old State House, Boston. Shows Nos. 19–21 North Square, the homestead of Paul Revere, erected soon after the fire of 1676. Said to be "the second best example of houses with overhanging stories now (1889?) standing in the limits of old Boston."

Paul Revere's Pistol 218
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Last Page of Articles of Association of the First Continental Congress, with Autographs of all Members . . . . *between* 222 *and* 223
From original in the Library of Congress.

View of Washington Street, Salem, 1765–70 . . 227
Showing old school-house and whipping-post. The original water-color sketch drawn by Dr. Joseph Orme, between 1765 and 1770, is in the Essex Institute.

Title-page and a Diagram from Pickering's *An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia* . . . 228
From original edition in the Essex Institute.

Revolutionary Relics (Bullets, Cartridges, Cartridge Paper, Bullet Mold, and Ladle) . . . 229
Reproduced directly from originals kindly loaned by John E. L. Hazen, Shirley, Massachusetts.
The bullets, cartridges, and cartridge paper were found in the old Unitarian meeting-house at Shirley, Massachusetts (built in 1773).

Connecticut Forty-shilling Bill of 1775 . . . 230
From original specimen in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Method of Making Gunpowder 231
From Ames's *Almanack* for 1775 in the Boston Public Library.

Title-page of a Treatise on the Manufacture of Gunpowder 232
From original edition in collection of the New York Historical Society.

Site of Old North Bridge, Salem (in colors) . . 236

Joseph Warren (Portrait and Autograph) . . 237
Reproduced in colors from Copley's famous painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by generous permission of the owner, Major Warren Putnam Newcomb, U. S. A., a descendant of Warren.

Title-page of Warren's Memorial Oration of March 6, 1775 238
From original edition in library of the New York Historical Society.

Portrait of Hugh, Earl Percy 238
From photograph of original painting in Middlesex Guild Hall, Westminster, England. Reproduced by special permission of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex.

Interior of Saint John's Church, Richmond . . 239
From a photograph.

Paul Revere (Portrait and Autograph) 240
The portrait is a reproduction of Gilbert Stuart's painting which shows Revere when he was about eighty years of age. It is in the possession of Mrs. John Revere of Canton, Massachusetts, through whose courtesy we obtained a photograph of it.
Mrs. Revere's husband was a grandson of Paul Revere.
Map of Route from Concord to Lexington and Boston 240, 241
Portrait of William Dawes 242
From original painting in Cary Library, Lexington, Massachusetts, through courtesy of Marian P. Kirkland, librarian.
Hancock-Clark House, Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were staying on the Night of April 19 242
From a photograph kindly furnished by Marian P. Kirkland, librarian, Cary Library.
Page from Paul Revere's Diary, recording Midnight Ride of William Dawes and Himself . . *between* 242 *and* 243
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
The Battle of Lexington, engraved by Amos Doolittle 243
This is Plate I of a series of four, all of which are of great scarcity.
Direct reproduction from original engraving in the collection of the Bangor (Maine) Historical Society, kindly loaned for that purpose.
Clapper of the Bell that summoned the Citizens of Lexington on April 19 244
Owned by the town of Lexington, and reproduced by special permission, through kind effort of Marian P. Kirkland, librarian, Cary Library.
Monument to Captain Parker and his Men at Lexington 244
From a photograph kindly supplied by Marian P. Kirkland, librarian, Cary Library.
Pitcairn's Pistols 244
Owned by the town of Lexington, and reproduced by special permission, through kindness of Marian P. Kirkland, librarian, Cary Library.
Musket carried by Robert Peele of Salem at the Battle of Lexington 245
From collection of the Essex Institute.
Buckman Tavern near the Lexington Common . 245
Pierced by bullets April 19, 1775.
Reproduced from a painting in Old South Meeting House, Boston.
Sewall House, Burlington, Massachusetts . . 245
Hither Adams and Hancock retreated during the battle of Lexington.
The house was burned April 23, 1897.
Reproduced from photograph in collection of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston.

Sword carried by Major-general William Heath during the American Revolution . . . 246

From original in collection of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston.

Drum beaten at the Battle of Lexington . . . 246

Reproduced by special permission from the original in collection of the Lexington Historical Society, through kind efforts of Marian P. Kirkland, librarian, Cary Library.

Battle-ground Monument at Concord (in colors) . 247

Statue of the Minuteman at Concord . . . 247

From a photograph.

Flag of the Bedford Minutemen 248

Presented to the town of Bedford in 1885 by Captain Cyrus Page, descendant of Nathaniel Page who carried it to Concord with the minutemen. It has been sealed between glass plates and placed in custody of the Bedford Free Public Library. Considering its age and years of neglect, the flag is in good preservation.

We are indebted to the town authorities and particularly to Mr. Charles W. Jenks, treasurer, Bedford Free Public Library, for permission to have it photographed and colored in close facsimile.

List of the Killed and Wounded at Lexington and Concord 249

From original broadside in the Essex Institute.

Doctor Joseph Fiske's Bill for Services to British Soldiers at Lexington 251

Reproduced from original in collection of the Lexington Historical Society, by courtesy of Marian P. Kirkland, librarian of Cary Library. While it has often been asserted that the Americans gave the wounded British no care whatsoever, indeed, even brutally treated them, this document—probably the only one in existence—proves that the wounded British were given most careful medical attention.

Title-page of Lord Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords 253

From original edition in library of the New York Historical Society.

Portrait of Edmund Burke 255

From an engraving, published in 1780, in the Emmet Collection of the New York Public Library. It is a copy of the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Autograph of Ethan Allen 258

From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

A Lieutenant's Commission issued to David Pixley by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and signed by Joseph Warren *between* 260 *and* 261

From a lithographic facsimile of the original document.

Portrait of Israel Putnam 261

From oil painting by Harry I. Thompson, painted in 1876, after a pencil sketch from life by Colonel John Trumbull now owned by the Putnam Phalanx, Hartford. The portrait was purchased from the artist in 1881 and now hangs in the governor's office, Hartford.

Autograph of Artemas Ward 261
From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Portrait of John Burgoyne 262
Reproduced in colors of original portrait (painted by Thomas Hudson in 1759) at Hampton Court Palace, England, by special permission of Mrs. George Stopford, a granddaughter of Burgoyne.

Gage's Amnesty Proclamation, June 12, 1775 . 263
From original broadside in collection of the New York Historical Society.

Homestead of Artemas Ward, Shrewsbury, Massachusetts 264
From an early photograph in collection of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston.

Autograph of William Prescott 264
From an original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

View of Charlestown from Beacon Hill . . 265
From original pen-and-ink sketch by the British engineer Montresor, entitled "A View of Charles Town, and the back Ground, as far as the narrow pass, taken from the Beacon Hill," made before the battle of Bunker Hill. It was purchased by Henry Stevens with the Montresor Papers, and is now in the collection of the Boston Athenæum.

Cartridge-box worn by Abraham Tuttle of New Haven at the Battle of Bunker Hill . . 266
From collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Map of the Battle of Bunker Hill . . . 267
Compiled from various sources.

Israel Putnam's Battle-sword and Sheath . . 268
From collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

"View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the Burning of Charles Town, June 17, 1775" . *between* 268 *and* 269
Reproduced from an original copper-plate engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

A Woodcut Portrait of Joseph Warren . . . 270
Published in George's *Almanack* for 1775.
Reproduced from copy in the Essex Institute.

"An Exact View of the Late Battle at Charlestown June 17th 1775" . . . *between* 270 *and* 271
Reproduced from an original copper-plate engraving in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

A Contemporary Map of the Battle of Bunker Hill 271
From an engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Bunker Hill Monument 272

Portrait of Israel Putnam . . . *between* 272 *and* 273
From an original mezzotint engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Appeal for Provisions and Royal Welsh Fusileers (Uniforms and Goat) . . *between* 272 *and* 273
From original broadside in the Boston Public Library; uniforms from Cannon's *Historical Record of the Twenty-third Regiment.*
Watch used by Stephen Hopkins 276
From collection of Rhode Island Historical Society.
Pennsylvania State-house 277
From a contemporary engraving, showing appearance, 1741–50.
Currency issued by Continental Congress, 1775 . . 282
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).
Brigadier-general's Commission issued to Horatio Gates . . . . . *between* 282 *and* 283
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society.
The Declaration of Congress, July 6, 1775, setting forth Reasons for Taking up Arms . . *between* 284 *and* 285
Showing the first page of the manuscript as drawn up by John Dickinson and the entire declaration as printed. Both are reproduced from originals in collection of the New York Historical Society.
Map illustrating Relations of the Colonies with the Indians 285
Prepared by David Maydole Matteson, A. M.
Autograph of Richard Penn 289
From original letter in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).
Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations . . . . *between* 292 *and* 293
From O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York.*
Order for Coats with Sample of Cloth Attached . 294
From original in the Boston Public Library.
Map of the Siege of Boston 295
Compiled from many sources.
Uniform of Morgan's Virginia Riflemen . . 296
From an original drawing specially prepared for this work by Harry A. Ogden.
Wax Impression of Washington's Seal . . . 297
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Handbill printed for Distribution among the Royal Troops to induce Desertion 297
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
The "Yankee Doodle" Ballad of the Revolution . 298
From a copy of the original in the Essex Institute.
Paul Revere's Bill for Services to Massachusetts from April 21 to May 7, 1775 . . . 299
From original in the Revolutionary Archives, State House, Boston.
View of Nathan Hale's New London School-house . 305
This building, from the desk of which Hale departed to the war, no

longer stands on its original site. It was removed many years ago and used as a dwelling, that location being no longer available. It now stands in "Ye Antientiest Buriall Ground" in New London. It is in charge of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the local chapter, and is used as a depository of colonial and revolutionary relics.

Nathan Hale's Powder-horn 305
From collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

John Hancock's Money Trunk 306
From original in Old State House, Boston.

Massachusetts Bay Currency, Issue of December 7, 1775 308
From the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Soldiers' Receipt for Pay . . *between* 308 *and* 309
From original in Boston Public Library.

Pownall's View of Boston 310
From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Dorchester Heights Monument 312
Marks the spot from which Washington saw the evacuation of Boston.

View of the North Battery, Boston . . . 313
From engraving by Paul Revere in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Autograph of John Barry 317

Governor Tryon's Proclamation to suppress Rebellion and Sedition . . . *between* 318 *and* 319
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society.

South Carolina Currency, Issue of June 1, 1775 . 319
From original specimen in New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Esek Hopkins (Portrait and Autograph) . . 320
Portrait from a mezzotint published in London in 1776, a print of which is in the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library; autograph from an original signature in the same collection.

Autograph of Philip Schuyler 324
From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library.

Richard Montgomery (Portrait and Autograph) . 325
Portrait, in colors of original, is from Peale's painting in Independence Hall, Philadelphia; autograph from the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Map of the Expedition against Canada, 1775–76 326, 327
Based upon Carrington, with suggestions and corrections by Mr. Fred C. Würtele, of the Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

Autograph of James Livingston 328
From an original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Flag of the Seventh Fusileers (King's Color) . . 329
Captured at Fort Chambly in 1775 and now deposited in the chapel at West Point. The illustration shows its present appearance.

David Wooster (Portrait and Autograph) . . 329
Portrait from a mezzotint published in London in 1776, a print of which is in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection); autograph from same collection.

Guy Carleton (Portrait and Autograph) . . 330
Copied from Doughty and Parmelee's *Siege of Quebec*, by permission. Autograph from Netherclift's *Autographs of the Kings and Queens, and Eminent Men, of Great Britain*, London, 1835.

Map of Arnold's March 332
Based upon Carrington with suggestions and corrections by Mr. Fred C. Würtele, of the Literary and Historical Society, Quebec.

Arnold's Watch 333
From collection of the Connecticut Historical Society.

Map of Arnold and Montgomery's Attack on Quebec 335

Portrait of Benedict Arnold . . *between* 340 *and* 341
From original mezzotint in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Autograph of Charles Carroll of Carrollton . . 341

Formula of Enlistment in the Continental Army . 342
From original preserved in collection of the Essex Institute.

Suffolk's Letter to Riedesel introducing an Officer, February 26, 1776 343
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Montresor's Plan of New York and Vicinity, 1775 . *between* 344 *and* 345
From original in the collection of the New York Historical Society. Reproduced in exact original colors.

Marinus Willett (Portrait and Autograph) . . 345
From original painting by Waldo, in the New York City Hall. Painted when he was mayor of New York.

Topographical Map of New York and Vicinity . 346

New York Currency, Issue of March 5, 1776 . 347
From original specimen in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Commission issued to the Earl of Stirling . . 348
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Pennsylvania Currency, Issue of March 25, 1775 . 349
From original specimen in New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Maryland Currency, Issue of December 7, 1775 . 351
From original specimen in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Powder Magazine at Williamsburg, Virginia . . 352
Built in 1714 during the administration of Governor Spotswood, and still standing.

Signatures of the Mecklenburg Committee . . 356
Kindly supplied by Mr. George W. Graham, Charlotte, North Carolina.

William Moultrie (Portrait and Autograph) . . 365
Reproduced from originals in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection). The portrait follows an engraving of painting by Trumbull.

Map of the Attack on Sullivan Island . . . 367

Caricature entitled "The Wise Men of Gotham and their Goose" 374
Printed in colors of the original from a reproduction of the caricature appearing in "The Boston Port Bill as Pictured by a contemporary London Cartoonist," by R. T. H. Halsey, published by the Grolier Club, 1904. Of the original only three copies are known to be in existence—all owned by Mr. Halsey. Reproduced by courteous permission jointly granted by the owner of the picture and the council of the Grolier Club.

George Germain (Portrait and Autograph) . . 375
Portrait reproduced from a mezzotint made in 1759 from the original painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds; autograph from letter dated November 3, 1779—both in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Portrait of Thomas Paine 376
From an engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Portrait of John Hancock 378
Reproduced in original colors from Copley's painting deposited by the city of Boston in the Museum of Fine Arts.

Portrait of Dorothy Quincy (Mrs. John Hancock) 379
Reproduced in colors from original painting by Copley, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by special permission of its present owner, Mr. Stephen Bowen.

Currency issued by Continental Congress . . 380
One-third dollar, showing both sides.
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Governor Cooke's Fast-day Proclamation, May 6, 1776 . . . . . *between* 380 *and* 381
This was the first proclamation closing with the words "God save the United Colonies" instead of "God save the King."
Reproduced from original in collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

North Carolina Currency, Issue of April 2, 1776 . 381
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Rhode Island Currency, Issue of January 15, 1776 382
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Virginia Currency, Issue of May 6, 1776 . . 383
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Page of a Manuscript Draft of a Constitution for Virginia, drawn up by Jefferson in 1776 . . 384
From original in the Library of Congress.
The first page of this document contains the sentiments of the Declaration of Independence virtually in the same language. It was written earlier than the Declaration, and shows Jefferson's influence in both.

Portrait of Richard Henry Lee (in colors) . . 384
From Peale's original portrait in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Resolution of General Assembly of Connecticut to purchase Lead 386
From original broadside in collection of New York Historical Society.

Jefferson's Rough Draft of the Declaration of Independence (with amendments by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin) . between 386 and 387
From photograph of the original deposited in the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

New Hampshire Currency, Issue of June 28, 1776 387
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

New Jersey Currency, Issue of March 25, 1776 . . 388
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Delaware Currency, Issue of January 1, 1776 . 389
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

Coat of Arms of Charles Carroll of Carrollton . 390
From Kate Mason Rowland's *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*. Printed in exact heraldic colors.

Cæsar Rodney Monument at Dover, Delaware . 393
From photograph kindly supplied by Mr. Thomas F. Bayard, of Dover, Delaware.
It may be interesting to note that there exists no authentic portrait of Cæsar Rodney, because, by reason of a cancer on one side of his face, he never sat for a portrait.

The Declaration of Independence, as it was first printed for general Distribution . . . 395
From original in the Library of Congress.

Table and Chair used at the Signing of the Declaration of Independence 396
From photograph of the originals in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Engraved facsimile of the Declaration of Independence . . . . between 396 and 397

"The Congress Voting Independence" . . . 397
Close facsimile of original painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Painted by Robert Edge Pine, but unfinished at his death in 1788 and completed by Edward Savage. This picture was painted in the very room in which the event commemorated was enacted. Trumbull's famous "Declaration of Independence" was undoubtedly based to some extent upon it, though in the matter of the architecture of the room, Trumbull departs from his model.

The "Liberty Bell" 398
Preserved in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

The Declaration of Independence, *between* 398 *and* 399
From photograph of the original parchment made in 1893. It is preserved in the Department of State, Washington, but no longer exhibited.

Hancock's Letter to the Rhode Island Assembly, requesting that the Declaration of Independence be entered upon its Records . . *between* 398 *and* 399
From original deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, Providence.

Coat of Arms of Oliver Wolcott 399
From Samuel Wolcott's *Memorial of Henry Wolcott and some of his descendants.* Reproduced in correct heraldic colors.
Georgia Currency, Issue of 1776 399
From original in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection).

A History of the United States and its People

THE COLONIES: 1764–1775;
THE REVOLUTION TO THE DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE

CHAPTER I

FOR THE BUILDING OF A NATION

1763

Population

AT the close of the French and Indian War, the population of the colonies that were to constitute a new nation amounted to perhaps seventeen or eighteen hundred thousand. This population was almost wholly confined to the narrow strip of land between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies. With the exception of a few posts, such as Natchez, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Detroit, and Pittsburg, etc., the vast region west of the mountains was an unbroken wilderness.

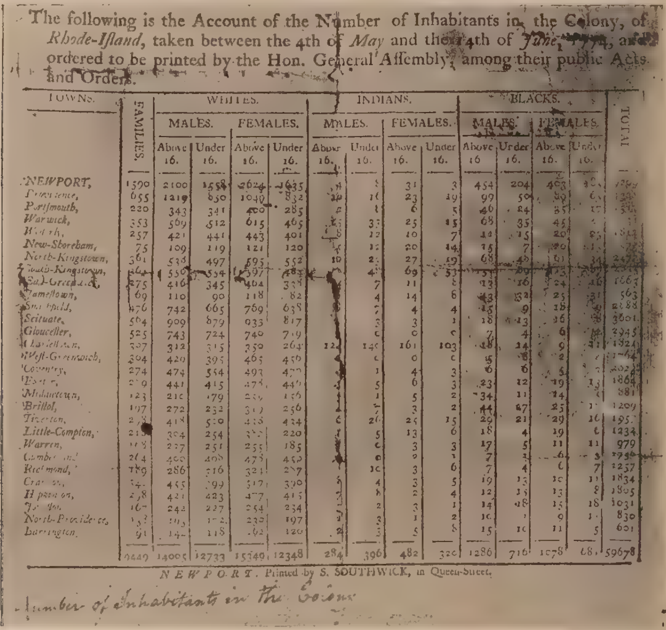
The Columbian Blend

Small as was the population of the colonies, it was far from being homogeneous. Perhaps one-fifth of all were negroes, the larger part of whom were in the colonies south of Pennsylvania. Dutch, Germans, Scotch-Irish, Scotch Highlanders, and French Huguenots made up so large a part of the remaining population that the Americans were even then a distinct people from the English. Mr. Roosevelt, himself of Dutch descent, says that probably not much over half the blood was English. Of all the sections, New England was most purely English; leaving out of account the negroes, the South came next. The middle colonies, and especially New York and Pennsylvania, were least so. New York City was already a veritable Babel; it is said that twenty years before it was taken from the Dutch no fewer than eighteen languages were spoken there.

Distribution

The population was almost entirely rural. Philadelphia, the metropolis, was a beautiful and attractive city

1763 with libraries, paved streets, and an agreeable situation that were praised by travelers, but it probably contained



The following is the Account of the Number of Inhabitants in the Colony, of *Rhode-Iſland*, taken between the 4th of *May* and the 4th of *June*, 1774, and ordered to be printed by the Hon. General Aſſembly, among their public Acts and Orders.

TOWNS.	FAMILIES.	WHITES.				INDIANS.				BLACKS.				TOTAL
		MALES.		FEMALES.		MALES.		FEMALES.		MALES.		FEMALES.		
		Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.	Above 16	Under 16.	Above 16.	Under 16.	
NEWPORT,	1590	2100	1558	2624	1635	[illegible]	[illegible]	31	3	454	204	463	[illegible]	[illegible]
Providence,	655	1219	850	1040	832	[illegible]	16	23	19	99	50	99	[illegible]	[illegible]
Portſmouth,	220	343	341	400	285	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	5	40	24	35	[illegible]	[illegible]
Warwick,	353	569	512	615	465	[illegible]	33	25	15	68	35	45	[illegible]	[illegible]
Weſterly,	257	421	441	443	401	[illegible]	12	10	7	[illegible]	15	20	[illegible]	[illegible]
New-Shoreham,	75	109	119	121	120	[illegible]	[illegible]	20	14	15	7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
North-Kingstown,	361	538	497	595	552	10	[illegible]	27	19	68	[illegible]	61	34	[illegible]
South-Kingstown,	[illegible]	550	554	597	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	69	53	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Eaſt-Greenwich,	275	416	345	404	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	11	8	13	16	24	16	1663
Jameſtown,	69	110	90	118	82	[illegible]	4	14	6	43	32	25	31	563
Smithfield,	476	742	665	769	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	4	15	9	18	[illegible]	2888
Scituate,	504	909	879	933	817	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	1	18	13	[illegible]	[illegible]	3601
Glouceſter,	525	743	724	740	719	[illegible]	0	0	0	7	4	6	[illegible]	2945
Charleſtown,	[illegible]	312	315	350	264	12	[illegible]	161	103	[illegible]	14	9	[illegible]	[illegible]
Weſt-Greenwich,	304	420	395	465	450	[illegible]	0	0	0	5	8	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
Coventry,	274	474	554	493	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	4	3	6	6	5	[illegible]	[illegible]
Exeter,	[illegible]	441	415	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	5	6	3	23	12	19	13	1864
Middletown,	123	210	179	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	5	2	34	11	14	[illegible]	881
Briſtol,	197	272	232	[illegible]	256	[illegible]	[illegible]	3	2	44	47	25	[illegible]	1209
Tiverton,	[illegible]	418	520	[illegible]	434	6	26	25	15	29	21	29	16	[illegible]
Little-Compton,	[illegible]	304	254	[illegible]	220	[illegible]	5	13	6	18	4	19	6	1233
Warren,	[illegible]	227	251	255	185	[illegible]	0	3	3	17	5	11	11	979
Cumberland,	264	400	[illegible]	473	452	[illegible]	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	7	[illegible]	6	3	[illegible]
Richmond,	[illegible]	286	[illegible]	321	[illegible]	[illegible]	10	3	6	7	4	6	7	1257
Cranſton,	[illegible]	455	[illegible]	517	390	[illegible]	4	3	5	19	13	10	11	1834
Hopkinton,	[illegible]	421	423	477	415	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	4	12	15	13	8	1805
Johnſton,	[illegible]	242	227	254	234	[illegible]	2	3	1	14	18	15	18	1031
North-Providence,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	230	197	[illegible]	3	1	2	10	[illegible]	9	[illegible]	830
Barrington,	91	[illegible]	118	[illegible]	120	[illegible]	3	5	8	15	10	11	5	601
	[illegible]	14005	12733	15340	12348	284	396	482	320	1286	716	1078	[illegible]	59678

NEWPORT. Printed by S. SOUTHWICK, in Queen-Street.

Number of Inhabitants in the Colony

Rhode Island Census, 1774

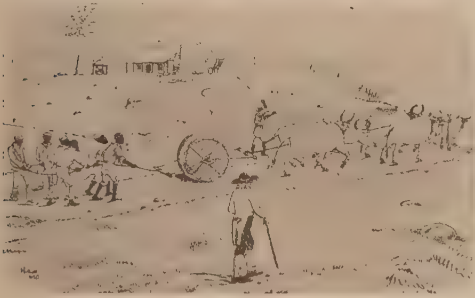
fewer than twenty-five thousand persons. Boston, New York, Charles Town, and possibly Norfolk were the only other places that contained more than five thousand each. In Virginia, the most populous of the colonies, there was only one place that could rightly be called a town; Williamsburg, the capital, was a

The Avery House in Dedham, Massachusetts, built by William Avery about 1675 straggling village with sandy, unpaved streets and about two hundred houses, "somewhat overweighted with the public buildings and those of the college." 1763

The Mansion at Westover, Virginia

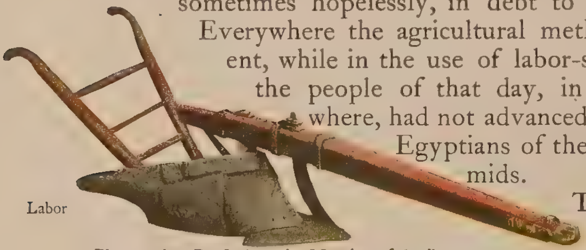
Agriculture

In the North, and especially in New England where most of the soil was thin and poor, large estates were exceptional, although the patroon system still existed in New York. In this section, farming was far more diversified than in the South, where tobacco, rice, and indigo


Sketch showing Method of Using Tobacco Roller

A Tobacco Roller

were the great staples. In Virginia, great plantations were the rule, though there were many small farms. The lordly planter generally lived in a lordly mansion, situated by the side of some navigable stream and surrounded by numerous outbuildings and negro cabins. To the wharf of such a plantation once a year an English tobacco-ship came to leave a varied assortment of goods that had been ordered months before and to take away the season's surplus crop. As a rule, the planter was not a good business man, and ordinarily he was badly, sometimes hopelessly, in debt to English creditors. Everywhere the agricultural methods were indifferent, while in the use of labor-saving implements the people of that day, in America as elsewhere, had not advanced much beyond the Egyptians of the time of the pyramids.



Plow used at Boxford on the Morning of April 19, 1775

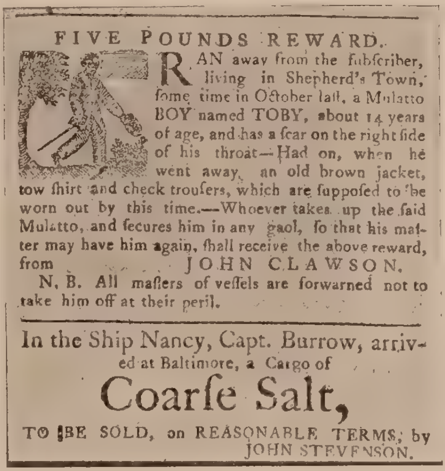
Labor

The labor system varied greatly. In New England and the middle colonies, the farmer depended, in the main, upon his own work and that of his sons; hired labor was scarce and, north of Maryland, slaves were few. Indentured servants were, however, numerous in some of the colonies, especially in Maryland and Virginia. In April, 1775, Washington proclaimed, in the *Virginia Gazette*, a reward for two Scotch serving-men who had just absconded from Mount Vernon. Many redemptioners, persons who had sold their services to pay their passage over sea, after the expiration of their terms of service, became useful and substantial citizens; but some of them, together with the free negroes and a majority of those who had been deported for crime, formed "the scum of society." In the South, negro

Ax, used about 1750

slaves performed most of the hard labor; in South Carolina, they considerably exceeded the whites in number and their condition was ordinarily worse than was that of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and the colonies further north. 1763

Slavery Slavery was generally regarded as a praiseworthy institution, although the leaven of emancipation had begun to work. As early as 1637, Roger Williams had asked whether, after "a due time of trayning to labour and restraint, they ought not to be set free?" In 1688, the Germantown Friends, as already recorded, presented their famous petition against the institution. Twelve years later, Samuel Sewall, in a tract called *The Selling of Joseph*, denounced slavery and the slave trade in vigorous terms. He said: "These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are; seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the Last ADAM, and the offspring of GOD; They ought to be treated with a Respect aggreeable." By 1750, "professional anti-slavery agitators like John Woolman and Benezet" were at work in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1758, the Friends' yearly meeting at Philadelphia ordered that members were to set their slaves "at liberty, making Christian provision for them." In 1776, the society directed the monthly meetings to exclude from membership all who refused to comply with the order.



FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

RAN away from the ſubſcriber, living in Shepherd's Town, ſome time in October laſt, a Mulatto BOY named TOBY, about 14 years of age, and has a ſcar on the right ſide of his throat—Had on, when he went away, an old brown jacket, tow ſhirt and check trouſers, which are ſuppoſed to be worn out by this time.—Whoever takes up the ſaid Mulatto, and ſecures him in any gaol, ſo that his maſter may have him again, ſhall receive the above reward, from JOHN CLAWSON.

N. B. All maſters of veſſels are forwarned not to take him off at their peril.

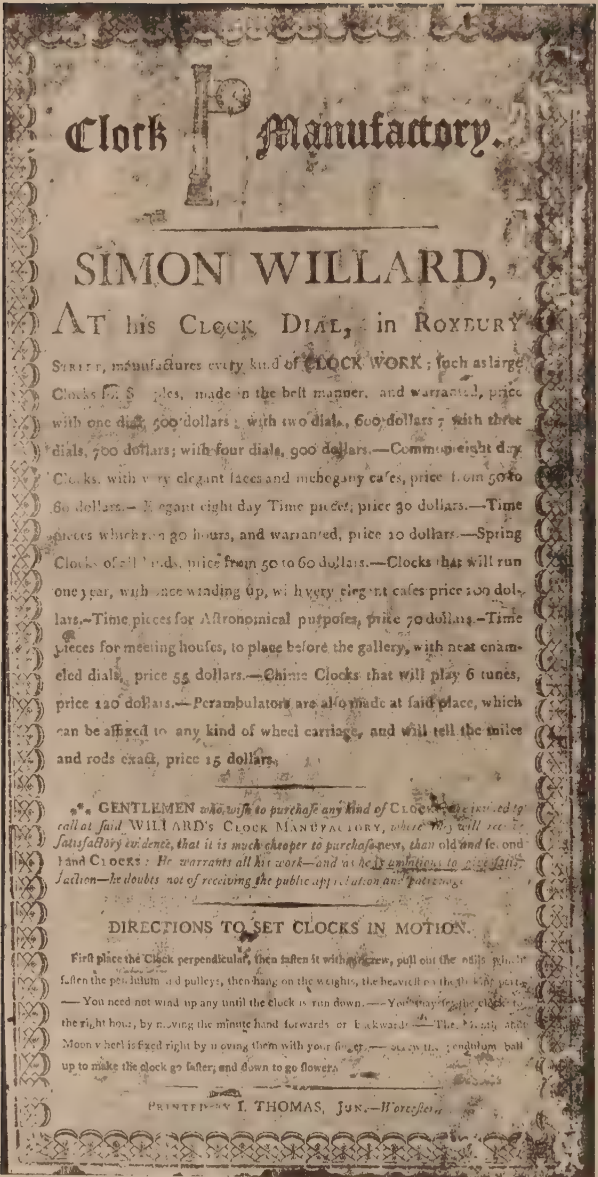
In the Ship Nancy, Capt. Burrow, arrived at Baltimore, a Cargo of

Coarſe Salt,

TO BE SOLD, on REASONABLE TERMS; by JOHN STEVENSON.

Advertisement for a Runaway Slave

In a new country, where fertile land is easily obtainable Manufactures



Clock Manufactory.

SIMON WILLARD,

AT his CLOCK DIAL, in ROXBURY STREET, manufactures every kind of CLOCK WORK; ſuch as large Clocks for Steeples, made in the beſt manner, and warranted, price with one dial, 500 dollars; with two dials, 600 dollars; with three dials, 700 dollars; with four dials, 900 dollars.—Common eight day Clocks, with very elegant faces and mahogany caſes, price from 50 to 60 dollars.—Elegant eight day Time pieces, price 30 dollars.—Time pieces which run 30 hours, and warranted, price 10 dollars.—Spring Clocks of all kinds, price from 50 to 60 dollars.—Clocks that will run one year, with once winding up, with very elegant caſes price 100 dollars.—Time pieces for Aſtronomical purpoſes, price 70 dollars.—Time pieces for meeting houſes, to place before the gallery, with neat enameled dials, price 55 dollars.—Chime Clocks that will play 6 tunes, price 120 dollars.—Perambulators are alſo made at ſaid place, which can be affixed to any kind of wheel carriage, and will tell the miles and rods exact, price 15 dollars.

⁂ GENTLEMEN *who wiſh to purchaſe any kind of* CLOCKS, *are invited to call at ſaid* WILLARD's CLOCK MANUFACTORY, *where they will receive ſatiſfactory evidence, that it is much cheaper to purchaſe new, than old and ſecond hand* CLOCKS: *He warrants all his work—and as he is ambitious to give ſatiſfaction—he doubts not of receiving the public approbation and patronage.*

DIRECTIONS TO SET CLOCKS IN MOTION.

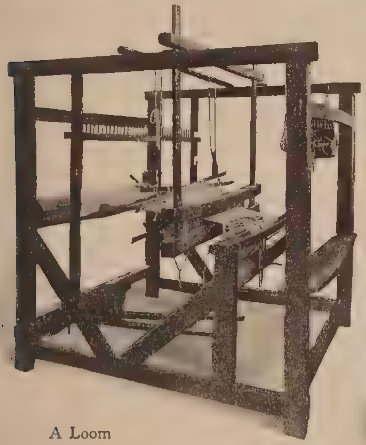
Firſt place the Clock perpendicular, then faſten it with a ſcrew, pull out the nails which faſten the pendulum and pulleys, then hang on the weights, the heavieſt on the ſtriking part.—You need not wind up any until the clock is run down.—You may ſet the clock to the right hour, by moving the minute hand forwards or backwards.—The Month and Moon wheel is fixed right by moving them with your finger.—Screw the pendulum ball up to make the clock go faſter; and down to go ſlower.

PRINTED BY I. THOMAS, JUN.—*Worceſter.*

A CLOCKMAKER'S ADVERTISEMENT

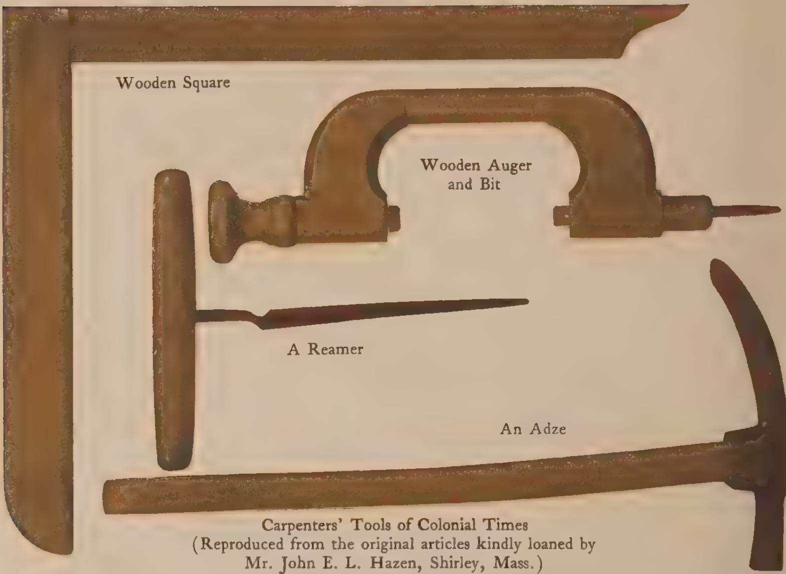
and the supply of labor is consequently scanty, manufacturing is likely to languish. So it was in the colonies. Still, a great many articles that now are ordinarily purchased were then made at home. The northern farm was almost as self-sufficient as was the mediæval manor. Many families produced all the clothing, furniture, etc., that they used. In short, the man of that day was a jack-of-all-trades who could turn his hand to almost anything, from making a wooden rake to building a house. Despite repressive English legislation and the dearth of labor, there was, especially in the North, considerable manufacturing on the larger scale. Thus there were fulling-mills in several of the colonies, and iron-works were in existence in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and elsewhere. Burnaby tells us that, in 1758, sixty thousand dozen pairs of thread stockings, worth a dollar a pair, were made at Germantown. The distillation of rum from West India

A Boy's Shoe, worn previous to the Revolution



A Loom

A Reel



Carpenters' Tools of Colonial Times
(Reproduced from the original articles kindly loaned by Mr. John E. L. Hazen, Shirley, Mass.)

1763 molasses was an important New England industry, as will be more fully explained a few pages further on. There were perhaps fifty colonial printing-presses, and the production of naval stores, leather, and other articles gave employment to many.

Ship-building Of all manufactures, however, ship-building was perhaps the most important. In 1769, three hundred and eighty-nine vessels of an aggregate of twenty thousand tons burden were launched. Of this number, Massachusetts built one hundred and thirty-seven; Connecticut, fifty; New Hampshire, forty-five; Rhode Island, thirty-nine; Virginia, twenty-seven; Pennsylvania, twenty-two; Maryland, twenty; and New York, nineteen. It was generally remarked, however, that American vessels did not last as long as did those built in Europe. For this, two reasons were assigned: one was that American timber was naturally less durable than European; the other, that the spirit of haste, even then noticeable in America, did not allow sufficient time for the timber to become seasoned.

1763
Physicians

Of the few existing professions, some were in a lamentable state. The physician's professional education was usually meager, and frequently consisted of a short apprenticeship with some established practitioner. There was no medical college in the colonies before 1765, but a few students went abroad to study at Edinburgh or elsewhere. Elson tells us that "the practice of blood-letting for almost any disease was universal; and if the physician was not at hand, this was done by the barber, the clergyman, or any medical amateur. The drugs were few, and their rightful use was little known. Saint John's-wort was taken as a cure for many ills, for madness, and to drive away devils. A popular medicine was composed of toads burned to a crisp and powdered, then taken in small doses for diseases of the blood. . . . In addition to the regular physicians there were many quacks who hawked their Indian medicines and special cures about the country; but these were not peculiar to colonial times." We wonder at this a little less when we understand that, for a hundred years, Harvard and Yale had existed essentially to train clergymen and that the departments of medicine in those colleges

Tooth Extractor

Surgeon's Saw

Saddle Bags in which Mrs. Ruth Perley Curtis of Boxford carried Food and Powder to her Husband, Lieutenant John Curtis, fighting at Bunker Hill

1763 came up at first as collateral affairs. During the long-continued reign of the clergy, the ministers were the physicians of their parishes.

Watch and Chain once worn by John Gedney Clark

Lawyers

The law as a profession had long been looked upon with disfavor; the ministers were always welcome as attorneys. During the reign of the New England clergy, they not only argued cases but also acted as judges; Colonel Higginson tells us that they "would boldly go into lawsuits in progress, observe what was going on, and if they were not pleased with the judge's decision would overrule it. If they did not like the examination of the witnesses they would examine them themselves; if they did not like the action of the jury they would overrule it and pronounce the verdict themselves." Samuel Sewall, a man of eminent ability and sterling character, one of the judges during the witchcraft cases at Salem and later chief-justice of Massachusetts for a decade, had studied divinity and "might either be regarded as something of a clergyman veneered over with a little law, or something of a lawyer veneered over with a good deal of clergy." For years after the entry of the eighteenth century there was no required preparation or examination for the practice of the law. When John

Spectacles and Case of Colonial Times

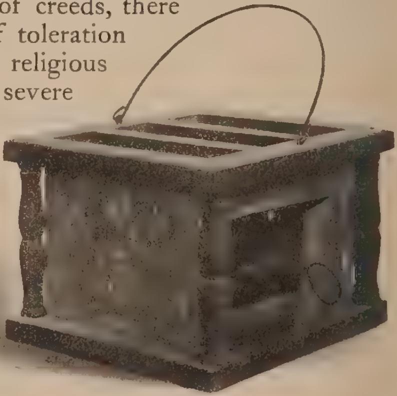
Adams of Braintree, after graduation at Harvard, sought the hand of Abigail Smith, the paternal Smith, a clergyman, made opposition largely on the ground that the suitor was a lawyer. But, in the second half of the century, the influence and importance of the law developed with great rapidity. It was remarked that the increase in the numbers and importance of the legal class was the most marked tendency of New England life. The same was true, possibly in less degree, in the other colonies. In New York, the lawyers managed to control the politics of the colony. Some years later, Burke stated in his speech on conciliation that an English publisher had told him "that in no other branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations." 1763

Old Wall Paper at the Quincy Mansion

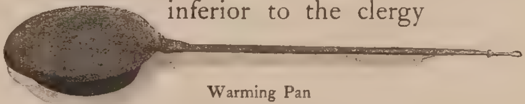
Notwithstanding the interest renewed by the "Great Awakening," religion occupied less of the attention of the The Clergy

1763 people than in the preceding century. In New England, there was still an austerity of manner and belief that was hardly exceeded in Scotland, and the people continued, as a rule, to be "strictly Sabbatarian, rigidly orthodox, averse to extravagance, to gambling, and to effeminate amusements;" but the rigor of the Puritan theology had been relaxed. "A greater variety of people came as settlers, with different opinions, a greater variety of saints, and a tolerable variety of sinners." The ministers, some of whom were learned in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, were still the leaders of the people and dreaded papacy and episcopacy as much as ever, but, in many respects, they were more liberal than their predecessors. In the middle colonies, owing in part to the great diversity of creeds, there was a broader spirit of toleration than elsewhere and religious orthodoxy was less severe than in New England. In New York and in all the southern colonies excepting Georgia, the Anglican church was recognized by law as the state church, but the greater part of the population

Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Virginia


Foot Stove

belonged to other denominations. In South Carolina, the Episcopal clergy were men of zeal and character, but in Maryland and Virginia especially they were, in learning, piety, and morality, inferior to the clergy of New England. In Virginia, "they ranged from hedge parsons and fleet chaplains, who had shrunk away from England to find a desirable obscurity in the new world, to divines of real learning and genuine piety, who were the supporters of the college, and who would have been a credit to any society." Many of them were men who "worked their own lands, sold tobacco, were the boon companions of the planters, hunted, shot, drank hard, and lived well, performing their sacred duties in a perfunctory and not always in a decent manner." The established clergy in Maryland appear to have been no better.



Warming Pan

Fisheries

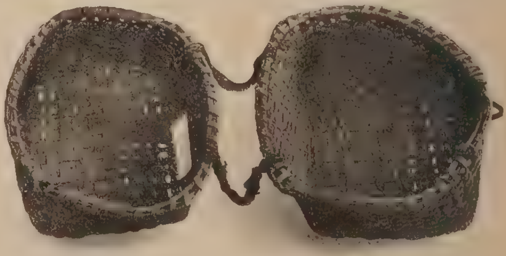
The fisheries gave employment to many and formed an unexcelled school for seamen. "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise," said Burke in 1775, "ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy enterprise to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent People." The opening of waters previously controlled by the French greatly stimulated the whale-fishery, and, in 1763, Massachusetts sent out eighty vessels or more. The mackerel and codfisheries were still more important. In 1763, the three hundred Massachusetts vessels engaged in cod-fishing took 102,265 quintals of merchantable cod, worth about 61,359 pounds, and 137,794 quintals of unmerchantable cod (known as "West India Cod" because it could be sold in the West Indies), worth about 62,007 pounds. The ninety mackerel vessels sent out by the same colony took 18,000 barrels, worth about 16,200 pounds. In the same year, the colony also exported about 10,000 barrels of "shad, alewives, and other pickled fish," worth about 5,000 pounds. In the following year, New England employed more than forty-five thousand tons of

1763 shipping and about six thousand men in the various fisheries.

Commerce

In spite of the annoying navigation laws, the effect of which has been considered, commerce and trade, foreign and domestic, had assumed important proportions. The fur trade with the Indians gave employment to many bold and hardy, and to some not over-scrupulous men, and was very profitable. The coastwise trade was still more important. The chief exports were tobacco, rice, indigo, flour, and various other agricultural products, fish, timber, vessels, furs, whale-oil and whalebone, and naval stores. For ten years preceding 1770, the average value of the exports of Maryland and Virginia was more than one-third greater than that of the united exports of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Among the chief imports were textiles, wines, iron and steel goods, furniture, spices, books, tea, and coffee. After about 1735, the much magnified "balance of trade" was always against the colonies. Philadelphia, New York, and the New England ports were the chief centers of the carrying trade. The West India market was of the highest importance and the prohibitive duties of the molasses act of 1733 were systematically evaded; in 1763, of the fifteen thousand

A Steelyard


Old Panniers

hogsheads of molasses imported into Massachusetts from the West Indies only five hundred came from the British islands. From this molasses was distilled the chief medium of the African slave-trade, a nefarious traffic that had attained huge proportions. Sloops from Boston, Newport, and Bristol sailed for the Gold Coast laden with hogsheads of rum. There the rum was exchanged for negroes, or, perchance, for gold. The wretched human freight was carried to the West Indies and there traded for sugar and molasses, or to Virginia where negroes brought a good price in tobacco. Either cargo could be disposed of to advantage on returning to the home port. The profits of this triangular traffic were enormous. "A slave purchased for one hundred gallons of rum, worth ten pounds, brought from twenty pounds to fifty pounds when offered for sale in America. Newport could not, with her twenty-two stillhouses, manufacture enough to meet the demand."

Currency

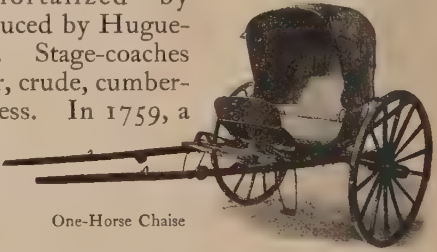
Trade was greatly embarrassed by unsatisfactory currency conditions. As the balance of trade was against the colonies and as they had no gold or silver mines of importance, the total amount of hard money in America was small. Even that little consisted of various sorts, the ordinary English coins, pieces of eight, moidores, doubloons, double johannes, etc., most of them badly clipped and mutilated. A system of barter was ordinarily employed in the Indian trade, and, to a lesser extent, in the domestic trade, but in all the colonies paper money had been issued, much of it in disregard of parliamentary prohibition. In accordance with a well-known economic law, this paper money drove coin practically out of circulation. Burnaby says that, in 1760, the paper currency of New Jersey was "at about 70 per cent. discount, but in very good repute; and preferred by the Pennsylvanians and New Yorkers to that of their own provinces." In the same year, he found the difference of exchange between paper money and hard money in Rhode Island, long a stronghold of fiat money, to be at least twenty-five hundred per cent.

1763

Transportation

Conestoga Wagon

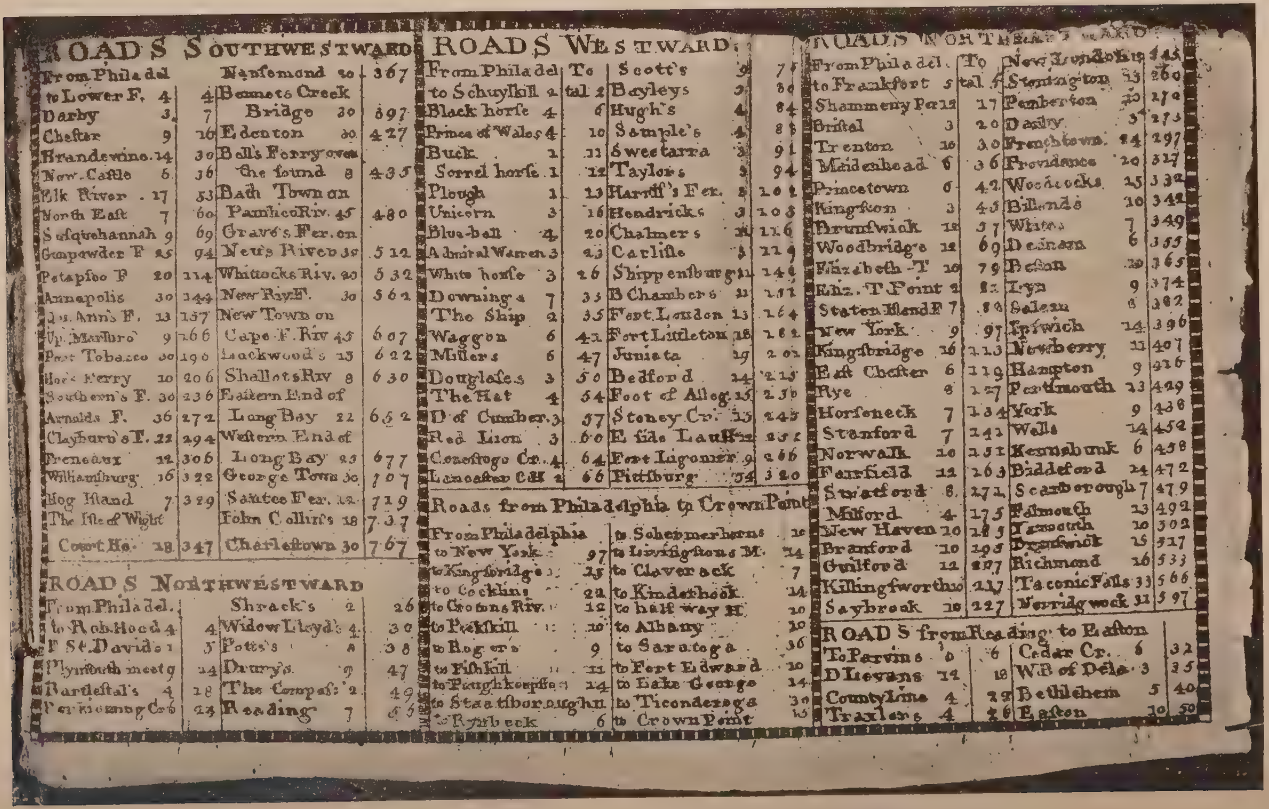
Domestic trade was also greatly hampered by primitive methods of transportation and communication. Wherever possible, freight and passengers were carried by water, but canals had not yet been built and such transportation had close limits. Packhorses were much used in the back country and in the Indian trade, and the famous Conestoga wagon was coming into use in Pennsylvania. Traveling was largely done on horseback. "A farmer went to church astride a horse, with his wife sitting behind him on a cushion called a pillion; while the young people walked, stopping to change their shoes before reaching the meetinghouse." The roads, where there were roads, were usually bad; bridges were almost unknown. In 1761, only thirty-eight private citizens in Philadelphia kept coaches or carriages. A vehicle known as a chariot was used in some localities by the very rich. The French chaise, Americanized into the "shay" and immortalized by Holmes, was introduced by Huguenots before 1700. Stage-coaches were few in number, crude, cumbersome, and comfortless. In 1759, a line of "Stage Waggons" without springs made the trip from New York to Philadelphia and return twice a week and covered the distance in about three days—a trip that may now be made in less than two hours.



One-Horse Chaise

Taverns

Owing largely to the means of travel, inns and taverns, with fanciful names and pictured signs, occupied a more



ROADS SOUTHWESTWARD

From Philadel.			Nanſemond	30	367
to Lower F.	4	4	Bennets Creek		
Darby	3	7	Bridge	30	397
Cheſter	9	16	Edenton	30	427
Brandewine	14	30	Bell's Ferry over		
New-Caſtle	6	36	the ſound	8	435
Elk River	17	53	Bath Town on		
North Eaſt	7	60	Pamlico Riv.	45	480
Suſquehannah	9	69	Graves's Fer. on		
Gunpowder F	25	94	News River	32	512
Petapſco F	20	114	Whitocks Riv.	20	532
Annapolis	30	144	New Riv. F.	30	562
Q. Ann's F.	13	157	New Town on		
Up. Marlbro'	9	166	Cape F. Riv	45	607
Port Tobacco	30	196	Lockwood's	15	622
Hoe's Ferry	10	206	Shallots Riv	8	630
Southern's F.	30	236	Eaſtern End of		
Arnolds F.	36	272	Long Bay	22	652
Clayburn's F.	22	294	Weſtern End of		
Freneaux	12	306	Long Bay	25	677
Williamſburg	16	322	George Town	30	707
Hog Iſland	7	329	Santee Fer.	12	719
The Iſle of Wight			John Collins's	18	737
Court Ho.	18	347	Charleſtown	30	767

ROADS NORTHWESTWARD

From Philadel.			Shrack's	2	26
to Rob. Hood	4	4	Widow Lloyd's	4	30
F St. Davids	1	5	Potts's	8	38
Plymouth meet	9	14	Drury's	9	47
Bartleſtal's	4	18	The Compaſs	2	49
Perkiomny Cr.	6	24	Reading	7	56

ROADS WESTWARD

From Philadel		To	Scott's	9	75
to Schuylkill	2	tal 2	Bayleys	5	80
Black horſe	4	6	Hugh's	4	84
Prince of Wales	4	10	Sample's	4	88
Buck	1	11	Sweetarra	3	91
Sorrel horſe	1	12	Taylors	3	94
Plough	1	13	Harriſ's Fer.	8	102
Unicorn	3	16	Hendricks	3	105
Blue-ball	4	20	Chalmers	11	116
Admiral Warren	3	23	Carliſle	3	119
White horſe	3	26	Shippenſburg	21	140
Downings	7	33	B Chambers	11	151
The Ship	2	35	Fort London	13	164
Waggon	6	41	Fort Littleton	18	182
Millers	6	47	Juniata	19	201
Douglaſs's	3	50	Bedford	14	215
The Hat	4	54	Foot of Alleg.	15	230
D of Cumber.	3	57	Stoney Cr.	15	245
Red Lion	3	60	E. ſide Lau[illegible]	12	257
Conoſtogo Cr.	4	64	Fort Ligonier	9	266
Lancaſter C.H.	2	66	Pittſburg	54	320

Roads from Philadelphia to Crown Point

From Philadelphia		to Schermerhorns	10
to New York	97	to Livingſtons M.	14
to Kingſbridge	15	to Claverack	7
to Cocklins	22	to Kinderhook	14
to Crotons Riv.	12	to half way H.	20
to Peekſkill	10	to Albany	10
to Rogers	9	to Saratoga	36
to Fiſhkill	11	to Fort Edward	20
to Poughkeepſie	14	to Lake George	14
to Staatſborough	[illegible]	to Ticonderoga	30
to Rynbeck	6	to Crown Point	15

ROADS NORTHEASTWARD

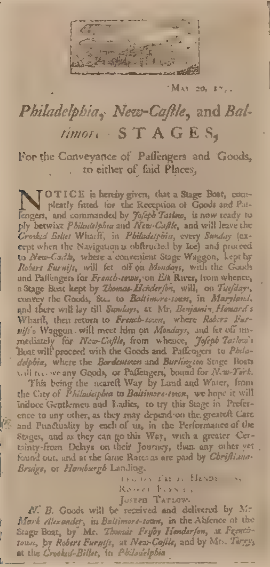
From Philadel.		To	New London	[illegible]	[illegible]
to Frankfort	5	tal 5	Stonington	13	260
Shammeny Fer	12	17	Pemberton	10	270
Briſtol	3	20	Dasly	3	273
Trenton	10	30	Frenchtown	24	297
Maidenhead	6	36	Providence	20	317
Princetown	6	42	Woodſtocks	15	332
Kingſton	3	45	Billands	10	342
Brunſwick	12	57	Whites	7	349
Woodbridge	12	69	Deinans	6	355
Elizabeth-T	10	79	Boſton	10	365
Eliz. T. Point	2	81	Lyn	9	374
Staten Iſland F	7	88	Salem	8	382
New York	9	97	Ipſwich	14	396
Kingſbridge	16	113	Newberry	11	407
Eaſt Cheſter	6	119	Hampton	9	416
Rye	8	127	Portſmouth	13	429
Horſeneck	7	134	York	9	438
Stanford	7	141	Wells	14	452
Norwalk	10	151	Kennebunk	6	458
Fairfield	12	163	Biddeford	14	472
Stratford	8	171	Scarborough	7	479
Milford	4	175	Falmouth	13	492
New Haven	10	185	Yarmouth	10	502
Branford	10	195	Brunſwick	15	517
Guilford	12	207	Richmond	16	533
Killingſworth	10	217	Taconic Falls	33	566
Saybrook	10	227	Norridgwock	31	597

ROADS from Reading to Eaſton

To Parvins	6	6	Cedar Cr.	6	32
D Levans	12	18	W.B. of Dela.	3	35
County line	4	22	Bethlehem	5	40
Traxlers	4	26	Eaſton	10	50

Routes of Travel, with Table of Distances, from Philadelphia
(From *Philadelphia Almanack*, 1779, in collection of Massachusetts Historical Society)

1763



May 20, 1772.

Philadelphia, *New-Caſtle*, and *Baltimore* STAGES,

For the Conveyance of Paſſengers and Goods, to either of ſaid Places,

NOTICE is hereby given, that a Stage Boat, compleatly fitted for the Reception of Goods and Paſſengers, and commanded by *Joſeph Tatlow*, is now ready to ply betwixt *Philadelphia* and *New-Caſtle*, and will leave the *Crooked Billet* Wharff, in *Philadelphia*, every *Sunday* (except when the Navigation is obſtructed by Ice) and proceed to *New-Caſtle*, where a convenient Stage Waggon, kept by *Robert Furniſs*, will ſet off on *Mondays*, with the Goods and Paſſengers for *French-town*, on *Elk* River, from whence, a Stage Boat kept by *Thomas-Henderſon*, will, on *Tueſdays*, convey the Goods, &c. to *Baltimore-town*, in *Maryland*, and there will lay till *Sundays*, at Mr. *Benjamin Howard's* Wharff, then return to *French-town*, where *Robert Furniſs's* Waggon will meet him on *Mondays*, and ſet off immediately for *New-Caſtle*, from whence, *Joſeph Tatlow's* Boat will proceed with the Goods and Paſſengers to *Philadelphia*, where the *Bordentown* and *Burlington* Stage Boats will receive any Goods, or Paſſengers, bound for *New-York*.

This being the neareſt Way by Land and Water, from the City of *Philadelphia* to *Baltimore-town*, we hope it will induce Gentlemen and Ladies, to try this Stage in Preference to any other, as they may depend on the greateſt Care and Punctuality by each of us, in the Performance of the Stages, and as they can go this Way, with a greater Certainty from Delays on their Journey, than any other yet found out, and at the ſame Rates as are paid by *Chriſtiana-Bridge*, or *Hamburgh* Landing.

THOMAS FRISBY HENDERSON,
ROBERT FURNISS,
JOSEPH TATLOW.

N. B. Goods will be received and delivered by Mr *Mark Alexander*, in *Baltimore-town*, in the Abſence of the Stage Boat, by Mr. *Thomas Friſby Henderſon*, at *French-town*, by *Robert Furniſs*, at *New-Caſtle*, and by Mrs. *Terry*, at the *Crooked-Billet*, in *Philadelphia*

Stage Coach Announcement, May 20, 1772

important place than do the corresponding institutions of today. The entertainment that they provided, especially in the South, was miserably poor, but in some of the northern colonies they were better kept, and sometimes carefully regulated by law. The landlords, more particularly in New England, were frequently men of high local standing, some of them being captains of militia, or members of the legislature. The tavern was a social center where the "menfolks" gathered to visit and gossip, as well as to drink their kill-devil, bounce, punch, cider, beer, and other beverages.

Mail Service

There was a postal system with Benjamin Franklin as one of the deputy postmaster-generals. The mail was carried by post-riders, and there were sometimes as many as three deliveries a week between New York and Philadelphia. In less densely populated districts, the intervals were longer. The total of mail delivered in all the colonies in a whole year was less than that now deliv-

Tavern-sign of Israel Putnam's Inn, called the "General Wolfe"

1763

ered in the city of New York in a single day. News traveled very slowly. It took nineteen days to carry the Lexington and Concord story to Savannah.

Social Life

Of course, there were great differences in social conditions and methods of living. Some of the very wealthy lived in stately mansions and made a brave display of fine furniture, plate, and china, had many liveried servants, kept London-made coaches and chariots, dressed magnificently in silks and satins, and created a fair imitation of English "society." Still their luxury fell far below the luxury of to-day; even the richest did not enjoy many of what are now regarded as necessaries of life. Most of those who lived on the border, and much of the country was border, as well as many

Leather Mail Bag, carried between Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven, in 1775

JWanton

Joseph Wanton, the Tory Governor of Rhode Island

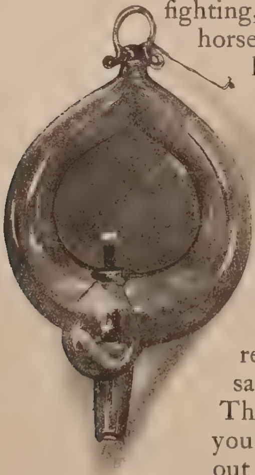
John Hancock's Double Chair

A Fire Bucket

1763 who lived elsewhere, dwelt in log cabins, dressed in buckskin and homespun, lived on a rude plenty of game and "hog and hominy," and enjoyed such relaxations as log-rollings, husking-bees, and shooting-matches.

Domestic Life

The great mass of the people were neither rich nor poor, and lived sober, industrious, laborious lives. In New England and in the middle colonies, even the men who had acquired wealth usually kept themselves in the working class. In the South, however, the well-to-do led easier lives and devoted more time to social functions and to such sports as cock-fighting, fox-hunting, fishing, shooting, and horse-racing. In reply to a question as to how the Virginia planters of the old régime spent their time, Thomas Jefferson once said: "My father had a devoted friend, to whose house he would go, dine, spend the night, dine with him again on the second day, and return to Shadwell in the evening. His friend, in the course of a day or two, returned the visit and spent the same length of time at his house. This occurred every week; and thus, you see, they were together four days out of the seven." With their household duties and the care of numerous



A Lamp used about 1775

An Old-time Umbrella

slaves, the women of the South worked "much harder and more steadily than their lords and masters ever thought of doing."

Old Kettle or Dutch Oven

Candle Mould

Neither socially nor politically was America democratic. In all the colonies, the suffrage was limited by property tests, and, in some of them, by religious tests. It has been estimated that the number of voters "was not more than a fifth to an eighth as large in proportion to the population as at present. In Connecticut in 1775 among 200,000 people there were but 4,325 voters." Socially, the lines were pretty clearly drawn. "At the top of the social scale stood the ruling class, composed, in New England, of the clergy, magistrates, college and other professional men; in New York, of these classes and, above all else, of the great landholders along the Hudson; in the South, the proprietors of the great plantations"—"Tuckahoes," they were called in Virginia—constituted the upper stratum. Class distinctions were less sharply drawn in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania than elsewhere. Ceremonious forms were in common use, and, in some of the colonies, a man was prohibited by law from dressing "above his degree." Students in college and worshipers in church were seated according to their social standing. "The upper class made much of birth and ancestry; and, whatever our prejudices against rank, it is significant that from this class came many of the statesmen and generals of the Revolution."

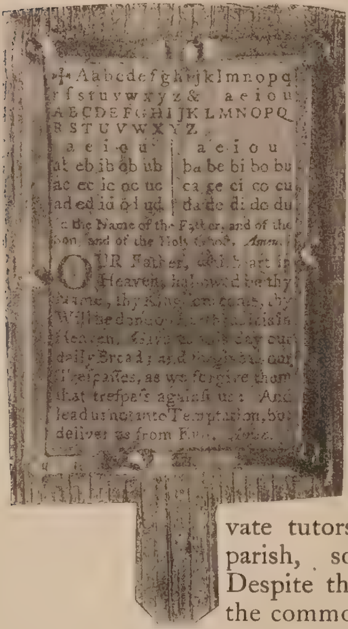
1763

Politics and Pedigree

Elementary Education

With the exception of Rhode Island, New England led the rest of the country in matters of education. Owing largely to her system of town schools, probably a larger proportion of the population of that section could read and write than in any other country excepting per-

1763 haps Scotland. Even in New England, however, the school seldom "kept" more than four months in the year; "the teacher was often a youthful divinity student, and sometimes the minister of the parish, or even the innkeeper." The methods of instruction were poor; the text-books and other pedagogical appliances, including the ferule and the birchen rod, were far from satisfactory. In the middle colonies, commendable efforts were made to educate the young; in the South, the education of the masses was almost wholly neglected, except for some feeble efforts in Maryland and Virginia. In Governor Martin's time, there were but two schools in North Carolina. In this section, the children of the rich were generally educated by private tutors, frequently by the minister of the parish, sometimes by indentured convicts. Despite the lack of school advantages, many of the common people managed to acquire a smattering of learning; a love for books sometimes revealed itself in unexpected places. When the "Long Hunters" visited Kentucky in 1770, they took with them for their "amusement the history of Samuel Gulliver's travels."


A Horn-book

Colleges

In the way of higher education, a commendable beginning had been made. By 1763, six important colleges, Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and King's, had been established. The number of students, however, was small and the equipment meager; the courses of instruction confined chiefly to the classics, theology, philosophy, and mathematics; the standard of scholarship was hardly more than that of an academy. When Burnaby traveled in Virginia, in 1759, he reported that "the college of William and

Mary is the only public place of education and this has by no means answered the design of its institution." The faculty consisted of a president who superintended the whole institution and read four theological lectures annually; the professor of the Indian school; the professor of humanity who had an usher or assistant under him; and four others, the professors of moral philosophy, metaphysics, mathematics, and divinity. In the following year the same observer found that what now is Princeton had "only two professors, besides the provost." There were twenty boys in the grammar-school and sixty in the college. The provost received two hundred pounds currency per year, the professors fifty pounds each, the expenses of a student for room-rent, commons, and tutorage were about twenty-five pounds annually. In the same year, King's college had only about twenty-seven students and graduated a class of seven; Burnaby thought the president too old. Yale and Harvard were more vigorous. Especially in the South, the sons of great families were frequently sent to one of the English universities. After graduation, they would perhaps read law in the Temple, "make the 1763

William and Mary College

DETVR DIGNIORI
SIGILL. ET COLL. HARVARD. CANTAB. NOV. ANGL. 1650
CHRISTO ET ECCLESIAE

Seal of Harvard College

(Engraved about 1764, and for many years used on the "deturs" or prizes given for scholarship)

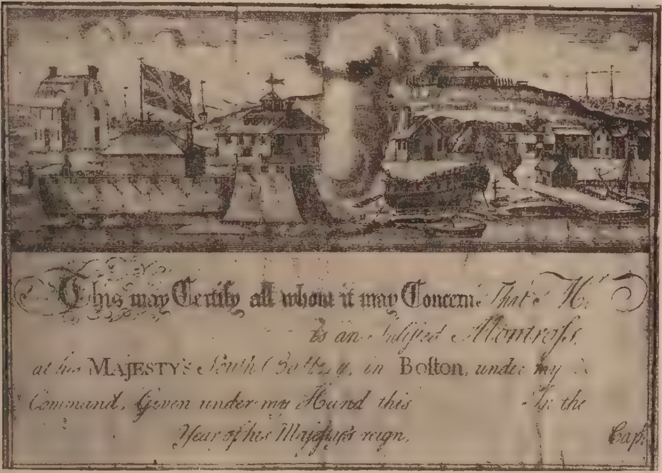
1763 grand tour, play a part in the fashionable society of London, and come back to their plantations fine gentlemen and scholars."

Science

In 1743, Franklin, in proposing the formation of an "American Philosophical Society," said that "The first drudgery of settling new colonies . . . is now pretty well over; and there are many in every province in circumstances that set them at ease and afford leisure to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge." By 1763, there were many in the colonies who were members and correspondents of foreign scientific societies, and Franklin was known the world over for his researches in electricity. In Europe, the old spirit of blind dependence on Aristotle and Pliny was giving way to the spirit of research. In their new environment, with the writings of the ancients out of easy reach, American scholars were almost driven to investigate for themselves. Still the skeptical scientific spirit of today was by no means fully developed. The Swedish traveler and scientist, Peter Kalm, who visited the colonies in 1749-50, gravely avers that the Quaker botanist, John Bartram, "told me that when a bear catches a cow, he kills her in the following manner: he bites a hole into the hide and blows with all his power into it, till the animal swells excessively and dies; for the air expands greatly between the flesh and the hide." Then and for long years afterward, Boston was the intellectual "hub," although Philadelphia, with Franklin, Bartram, and Rittenhouse, was not far behind. In New York, there was little intellectual life, the pursuit of wealth being even then the all-absorbing passion. In speaking of Virginia, Burnaby says that "the progress of the arts and sciences in this colony has been very inconsiderable," and the same statement would have applied to most of the other colonies.

Art and Literature

Literature and the fine arts do not flourish on a new soil. Broadly speaking, there were neither artists nor literary writers of merit, on the one hand, nor patrons of leisure and means on the other. Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, almost the only colonial artists now remembered, had just entered upon their careers, and they were obliged to seek instruction and much of their patronage abroad. Most of the few pictures and statues that might be found had been imported from Europe. John Adams once said that there were no painters or sculptors in America and he hoped there never would be. Aside from newspaper writing, authorship was chiefly confined to political and theological themes. Thomas Hutchinson, the first volume of whose *History of Massachusetts Bay* appeared in 1764, Jonathan Edwards, the author of the profound *Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will*, and Benjamin Franklin, the only one of the three to attain truly cosmopolitan fame, were the only notable writers of the period. There were no novelists, and the poetical effusions of the time do not rise to the level of literature. 1763



This may Certify all whom it may Concern: That W.
is an Inlisted Matross,
at his MAJESTY'S South Battery, in Boston, under my
Command, Given under my Hand this the
Year of his Majesty's reign. Cap.

An Enlistment Blank, with engraved View of Fort Hill, Boston

Printing

Most of the books in the colonies were imported from England, though some had been reprinted here. Pamphlets and almanacs occupied a more important place than such publications do today. By the end of 1765, forty-three newspapers and four literary magazines had been established, but many of them were no longer published.

1763 The circulation of a newspaper was always small; it has been estimated that the combined circulation of the thirty-seven newspapers printed in 1775 was about five thousand copies. There was no daily publication until 1784. In those days, the chief contents of a newspaper were bits of poetry, advertisements for runaway slaves and indented servants, reports of the arrivals of cargoes, bits of European news, and essays on politics, morals, and religion, little that we would call news. As a rule, a newspaper contained less matter in a year than is now to be found in a single Sunday issue of many a metropolitan journal.

A Colonial Printing-press and Type Case
(Said to have been used by Franklin)

Politics From many points of view, the colonists of 1763 appear as a society in the making, a provincial people who had contributed little to civilization. But in their capacity for self-government, they stood in the front rank. The inherited political traditions and usages that the founders brought from England had developed under new conditions and in new directions, but nowhere had they lost their vigor. Whether the form of colonial government was proprietary, royal, or practically independent corporate, the voter had, directly or through his representatives, a large share in the conduct of affairs. In purely local matters, the people were practically supreme. They developed three types of local government, the town system of New England, the county system of the South, and a combination of the two in the middle colonies; as the West was settled, these types moved westward along the parallels of latitude. But whether the people managed their own affairs in the town-meeting or through less purely democratic procedure, they were the local sovereigns, for nowhere was there a colonial officer charged with the administration of local affairs. The training thus received was now of priceless value.

A Revolutionary Time Pistol

The Great Question

Yet it was a grave problem whether, with all this training, the colonists would be able to set up a unified government. "America is formed for happiness, but not for empire," was Burnaby's conclusion; "in a course of 1,200 miles I did not see a single object that solicited charity; but I saw insuperable causes of weakness, which will necessarily prevent its being a potent state." Was Burnaby right, or would the Americans, in spite of differences of blood, religion, language, and social customs, be able, thanks to that training, to establish a vigorous political organism? This was a vital question and it took a quarter of a century to find the answer.

CHAPTER II

ON THE WAY TO REVOLUTION—THE SUGAR ACT

Genesis

MANY persons still think that the American revolution began soon after the close of the Seven Years' war and that it was caused by the attempt of the British ministry to raise a revenue from the colonies. In fact, the origin of that great upheaval lies far back in English history, before a single English colony had been planted in America. The more one studies the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the more clearly does one see that the collisions at Lexington and Concord were due less to the stamp act and the tea act than they were to the development of forces that existed in England at the time of the Tudors and that blossomed in the New World with the coming of Winthrop and the Puritans. In a large sense, Greenwood and Penry were forerunners of Otis and Hancock, and the Mayflower compact was a stepping-stone to the declaration of independence.

Title-deeds

When, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, European explorers were finding hitherto unknown lands, it became necessary to determine the ownership thereof. By common consent of civilized nations, lands newly discovered were held to have belonged to no one (*res nullius*) and might be appropriated by the discoverer or explorer, not for himself, but for his sovereign. In other words, when nobody's property became somebody's by discovery, that "somebody" was not the one who found it, but his royal master. The inhabitants of such lands, being heathen, pagan, or infidel, were regarded by the Church as on a plane inferior to that occupied by Christians. A person unbaptized was a pagan, and the Indian never had been baptized; his right in the soil was held to be a right of occupancy, not of ownership.

Inherited Rights

By "right of discovery," therefore, as thus developed and applied, the title to the soil of the English colonies in America was vested, not in people or parliament, but in the crown—just as it was in England. Settlers in the colonies were subject to the general control of parliament and king, but they were regarded as enjoying only such political and legal privileges as were conferred by the crown in the charters of the colonies. In form, these grants were liberal, as appears in the first charter of Virginia and other colonial grants. All of the colonies appropriated and applied the English common law; but they were regarded as exempt from the operation of parliamentary statutes passed after the colony was founded, unless such application was expressly provided for in the statute itself.

Volume 2, page 37

Prerogative

Before this theory of the legal relations between a colony and the mother country had undergone much development, the people and the parliament of England became involved in a long and bitter struggle with the crown over the question of royal prerogative. That the king ruled by divine right, that he was above the law, and that he might, if he chose, override the law or dispense with it, were doctrines that subservient judges, lawyers, and preachers upheld; but from the accession of James I., in 1603, such claims were more and more resisted in England, and later in the colonies, as inconsistent with the fundamental rights of Englishmen. On both sides of the Atlantic, Englishmen were determined that magna charta should survive as something more than a memory and a name. Insistence upon prerogative had cost English monarchs much; George III. was now to sacrifice to it the greater part of his New World empire. It would have been well for him had he adopted as his own the definition given in the Reverend Gad Hitch-

1763 cock's election sermon: "Prerogative itself is not a power to do anything it pleases, but a power to do some things for the good of the community, in such cases as promulgated laws are not able to provide for it."

Monopoly and Revenue

Although the theory of English law made the colonies directly subject to the crown, parliament freely exercised the right of legislating for them as a part of the empire. This legislation was directed chiefly to the regulation of the colonial trade—in the interest of monopoly at first, for the purpose of revenue later. The monopoly legislation was for the benefit, not so much of king, colonist, or empire, as of the British merchant, manufacturer, and ship-owner. It included chiefly the navigation laws and the acts of trade, the enactment, purpose, and effects of which were briefly considered in the second and third volumes of this history. A review of the pages indicated in the margin is suggested to the reader of this chapter. The revenue legislation, most of which was enacted after 1763, included the imposition of taxes and duties, and the establishment of custom-houses and admiralty courts for their collection.

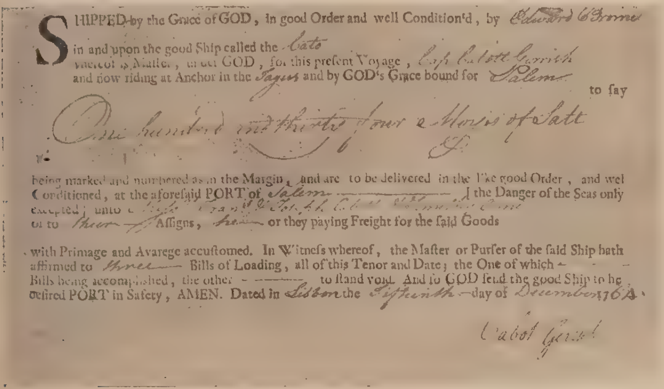
Volume 2, pages 29–32, and 188–193; Volume 3, pages 192–216

Drag

I wish here to repeat what, in earlier chapters, I have plainly stated: The colonial policy of England sprang from no ill-will toward her colonies; it was based upon a then universal but now evidently erroneous notion that colonies existed almost wholly for the benefit of mother countries. As I have pointed out, there were numerous compensations in the navigation laws and acts of trade, although, as a whole, they doubtless hindered the economic development of the colonies and interfered vexatiously with industrial and commercial affairs. It certainly must be admitted that not until after 1763 was a vigorous or general enforcement of the trade laws attempted by the English authorities, and that smuggling and evasion, often with the connivance of customs officials, were very common in America. In spite of "filio-pietistic" pains, it must be further admitted that some of these violations of law were accompanied by what we call "graft," as appears from the following declaration: "I,

Graft

1764 Sampson Toovey, clerk of James Cockle, Esq., collector of his Majesty's customs for the port of Salem, do declare on oath, that ever since I have been in the office, it hath been customary for the said Cockle to receive of the masters of vessels entering from Lisbon, casks of wine, boxes of fruit, etc., which was a gratuity for suffering their vessels to be entered with salt or ballast only, and passing over unnoticed such cargoes of wine, fruit, etc., which are prohibited to be imported into his Majesty's plantations. Part of which wine, fruit, etc., he the said James Cockle used to share with Gov. Bernard. And I further declare that I used to be the negotiator of this business, and receive the wine, fruit, etc., and dispose of them agreeable to Mr. Cockle's orders. Witness my hand, Sampson Toovey, Essex Co., Salem, Sept. 27, 1764."[9]



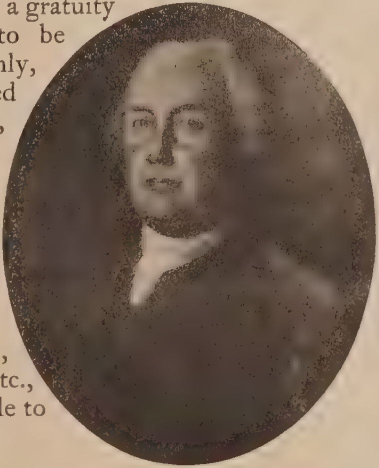
SHIPPED by the Grace of GOD, in good Order and well Condition'd, by Edward Browne in and upon the good Ship called the Cato whereof is Maſter, under GOD, for this preſent Voyage, Capt Cabott Gerrish and now riding at Anchor in the Tagus and by GOD's Grace bound for Salem to ſay

One hundred and thirty four e Moios of Salt

being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order, and well Conditioned, at the aforeſaid PORT of Salem (the Danger of the Seas only excepted) unto [illegible] or to their Aſſigns, he or they paying Freight for the ſaid Goods with Primage and Avarege accuſtomed. In Witneſs whereof, the Maſter or Purſer of the ſaid Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Loading, all of this Tenor and Date; the One of which Bills being accompliſhed, the other to ſtand void. And ſo GOD ſend the good Ship to her deſired PORT in Safety, AMEN. Dated in Lisbon the Fifteenth day of December 1764.

Cabot Gerish

Shipping Bill, dated December 15, 1764



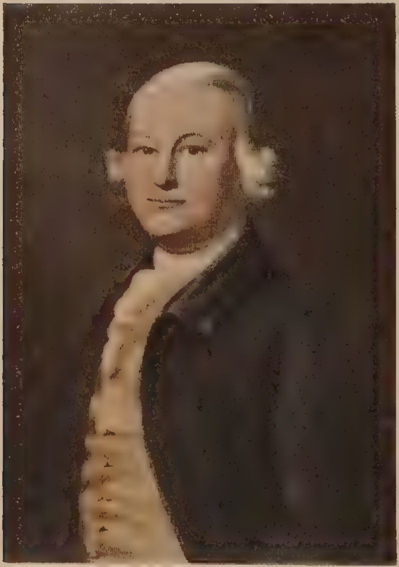
Fra Bernard

1760
1761

Governor Bernard

Of course, a systematic disregard of parliamentary statutes by Americans, with or without the connivance of royal officials, could not be tolerated indefinitely, and the complaints of those in England for whose benefit the acts had been passed could not continue to go unheard. In fact, a new ministerial policy was waiting at the door. In 1760, Thomas Pownall, the successor of Shirley as governor of Massachusetts, gave way for Francis Bernard. Pownall was a good friend of the colonies and later, in England, a warm advocate of their rights. Bernard, while not unfriendly, was a firm believer in the royal prerogative whose official representative he was. A more enlightened person might well have been chosen, but enlightenment was not the distinguishing trait of royal governors in the eighteenth century, and Bernard was better than most of his class.

Writs of Assistance


James Otis

In 1755, when the Seven Years' war had just begun, "writs of assistance," i. e., general warrants empowering officers of the customs to search private houses for smuggled goods without specifying either houses or goods, were issued by the courts of Massachusetts. In 1761, the application of Thomas Lechmere, surveyor-general, for the continuance of such writs "as usual"—former writs being about to lapse through the death of George II.—called out a fiery argument from James Otis who, "with a tongue of flame and the inspiration of a

1761
1762

seer," declared that a law that made it possible for inferior officials, acting on mere suspicion or from personal enmity, thus to invade the home of the citizen was "a kind of authority, the exercise of which cost one king of England his head and another his throne," and that even an act of parliament that sanctioned such a procedure should be treated as null and void. Chief-justice Hutchinson, doubtless right in his interpretation and application of the law, granted the writs. Had the protest of James Otis failed? More than a half-century later, John Adams declared that "then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born." The speech made the public more sensitive concerning encroachments upon their rights and made Otis a leader of public opinion in New England in like constitutional questions.

An Offensive Address

At a time when the legislature was not in session, but with the approval of the council, Governor Bernard had sent two ships to protect the fisheries against French privateers, an act that, a few years before, would probably have met with public gratitude. But the question of prerogative had now inflamed the public mind, and, when the assembly was asked to provide for the payment of the expenses thus incurred, the representatives sent to the governor a message written by Otis in which they boldly remonstrated against such a method of "taking from the house their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes. . . . It would be of little consequence to the people," they insisted, "whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary as both would be if both could levy taxes without parliament."

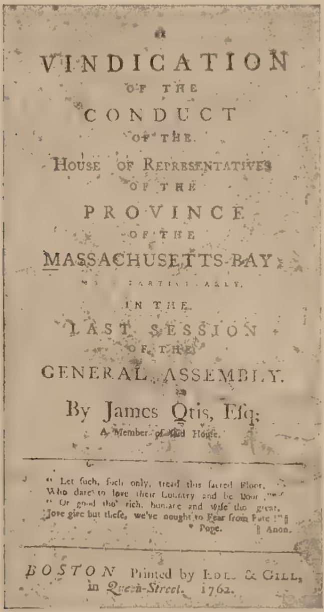
Otis's "Vindication"

The governor returned the address with an earnest entreaty that the words in which the "sacred and well-beloved name" of the king was "so disrespectfully brought into question" be not entered upon the minutes of the house. Under great excitement, the representatives voted to expunge the "dreadful words under which

1762
1763

his Excellency" had "placed a black mark," but as the governor insisted that his course in incurring expense not authorized by the legislature was justifiable, the house appointed a committee to prepare for publication a more careful statement of the position it had taken. Acting for the committee of which he was a member, Otis prepared and published a pamphlet entitled *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay.* In this constitutional argument, which has been called the source from which all subsequent arguments against taxation were derived, "James Otis reveals the habit of his mind, wherein gravity and frolic, logic and sarcasm, all rush together for expression."

September, 1762



A
VINDICATION
OF THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
PROVINCE
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY:
MORE PARTICULARLY,
IN THE
LAST SESSION
OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY.
By James Otis, Eſq;
A Member of ſaid Houſe.

"Let ſuch, ſuch only, tread this ſacred Floor,
Who dare to love their Country and be Poor." *
"Or good tho' rich, humane and wiſe tho' great.
Jove give but theſe, we've nought to Fear from Fate!" ‖
* Pope. ‖ Anon.

BOSTON: Printed by Edes & Gill,
in Queen-Street. 1762.

Title-page of Otis's Pamphlet

The Ministerial View

The close of the French war left England with a debt, the annual interest on which, added to the charges of current administration, made a heavy burden for the English taxpayer. A long struggle, accompanied as this had been by the payment of subsidies to Frederick the Great, had drawn deeply on existing sources of revenue; if possible, new sources must be found. The eyes of the ministry turned naturally toward America. The acquisition of Canada was a great advantage to the empire but the more immediate gain was to the colonies themselves; on the frontier, where war had been waged intermittently for nearly a hundred years, there was peace. What had been conquered must be defended, and there was fear that England's ancient enemy would renew the war and

1763

try to reëstablish New France. To the English ministry it seemed proper that a standing army should be maintained in America and that the colonies should bear a part of the expense.

The Colonial View

No imperial government at the present day would be likely to embark on such a course of action without first consulting the people most directly affected by it. Such, however, was not the policy of George III. or his ministers, before whose eyes loomed large the claims of prerogative. When, a little later, in resisting the attempt to tax the colonies directly, the colonial remonstrance was stated, it was pointed out that the colonies had already contributed liberally toward the expenses of the various wars in which they had been involved; that a number of the colonies were heavily in debt on account of the wars; and that the reimbursement of their military expenses, which parliament had granted from time to time, had been incomplete. It was further shown that a large contribution to the taxable wealth of the mother country was made by the colonies through the operation of the navigation acts and acts of trade, and that to call for a further contribution would be to ask for more than could be performed. Such arguments, however, carried little weight in England, particularly with the wealthy and influential trading class in whose interest the commercial system of the empire had been built up. What Englishmen chiefly saw, or imagined they saw, was that England needed more income, that the American colonies were prosperous, and that a strict enforcement of the trade laws would probably produce a large part of the needed revenue.

The Townshend Policy

In February, 1763, Charles Townshend was made first lord of trade and plantations, an office that was charged with the administration of colonial affairs. Largely on his own motion, but with the support of Bute's ministry, Townshend formulated and announced the new colonial policy. The elements of that policy were, first, the abandonment of royal requisi-

Townshend

Autograph of Charles Townshend

1763

tions on the colonial assemblies, hitherto relied upon for obtaining supplies and money grants, and the substitution therefor of taxes laid upon the colonies by act of parliament; second, the payment of colonial governors and judges by the crown instead of by the colonies; third, the maintenance of a standing army of twenty regiments, about ten thousand men, in America; and, finally, the payment of these extraordinary charges by parliamentary taxation. It was estimated that to garrison the forts surrendered by the French, to maintain an additional force sufficient to hold the Indians in check and provide for the general defense, and to pay the salaries of civil officers would require three hundred thousand pounds a year.

The Grenville Ministry

The peace of Paris was unpopular in England and was quickly followed by a change of ministry. In April, Lord Bute, the prime minister, who had been placed in office only because he was a favorite of the king and who was hated by the populace, gave way to George Grenville. According to Macaulay, "the worst administration that has governed England since the Revolution [of 1688] was that of Grenville. His public acts may be classed under two heads—outrages on the liberty of the people and outrages on the dignity of the crown." It was of such that an Englishman of a later generation wrote:

George Grenville

Autograph of George Grenville

> Yea, though we sinned and our rulers went from righteousness —
> Deep in all dishonour though we stained our garment's hem,
> Oh, be ye not dismayed,
> Though we stumbled and we strayed
> We were led by evil counsellors — the Lord shall deal with them.

The leading spirit in the cabinet and in the house of commons was Townshend, and he was resolved on making a thorough change in the government of America.

The Sugar Act

Grenville was committed to Townshend's policy and now undertook to put it into operation. The first step was the passage of what is known as the sugar act. An act of 1733, commonly known as the molasses act, had been aimed at the French sugar colonies, which had been able to displace the sugar of English colonies in the European market and to compete successfully with the English product in the American market. The molasses act was "unmistakably ill-advised" and its enforcement would have been disastrous. It had remained, however, practically a dead letter, though five times renewed from the date of its expiration in 1738. It was now, by a provision of the sugar act, made perpetual, although the duty on imported molasses was reduced from sixpence to threepence per gallon and the duty on sugar was correspondingly lessened. As far as it went, the reduction was a change from a prohibitory tariff to a tariff for revenue.

Volume 3, page 203

Its Provisions

The sugar act also levied duties on coffee, indigo, pimento, wines, silks and other eastern stuffs, calico, and linen, when imported into the American colonies; and prohibited the importation of foreign rum or spirits, and of sugar that had not come from England as provided by the acts of trade. Further, all coffee, pimento, cocoa-nuts, whale-fins, raw silk, hides, and skins, and pot and pearl ashes produced in America must, if exported, be sent directly to Great Britain or a British colony; and the exportation of the important articles of lumber and iron to any European country except Great Britain was prohibited. European salt, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horses, food supplies, and linen cloth to or from Ireland, were excepted from the operation of the act which became a law on the fifth of April, 1764, and was to take effect at the end of the following September. In March, before the sugar act had become a law, Grenville had announced his intention of bringing in a stamp act at the next session, as will be more fully set forth in the next chapter. On the nineteenth of April, the king, in proroguing parliament, spoke in approval of "the wise regulations which have been established to augment the public revenues, [and] to unite the interests of the most distant possessions of the crown." Eleven years from that day, at Lexington and Concord, the "embattled farmers" stamped their commentary on that royal utterance.

4 George III. cap. 15

For the Defense of America

Although for the first time in English history, the title of a parliamentary act now spoke of "granting duties in the colonies," the reasonable purpose of the ministry was clearly set forth. The sugar act provided that all the proceeds arising from the duties imposed by it, together with those accruing from the molasses act, should, after deducting the cost of collection and accounting, "be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, and shall be entered separate and apart from all other monies paid or payable to his Majesty . . . and shall be there reserved, to be, from time to time, disposed of by parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America."

The Enforcement of Law

The significance of the sugar act lay not only in the imposition of specific duties and the avowed purpose to raise a revenue in America, but also in the determination of the ministry to enforce its provisions. For the colonies, the era of *laissez faire* was at an end. Whether, in view of a century of negligence on the part of the home government, the colonies had been justified in disregarding previous acts of trade, was an ethical question to which diverse answers might be made. There could be little question, however, that their strict enforcement now would work serious interference with colonial commerce. The Americans of 1764 were poor; they had little capital and handled little actual money; their foreign trade, which to the Grenville ministry seemed so lucrative, throve on a small margin of profit, the existence of which depended largely on exemption from burdensome import duties. In other words, the enforcement of the sugar act threatened disaster to some of the most profitable colonial industries, with added inconvenience and expense to the people as a whole.

A New Departure

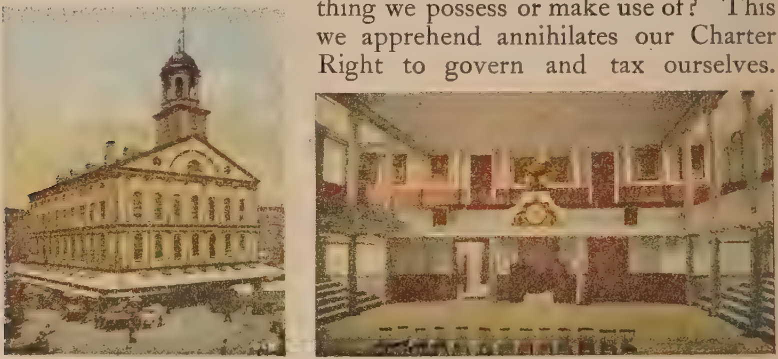
Grenville and Townshend appear to have taken no account of these economic conditions, or of the important changes that had taken place in colonial public spirit. Loyal as the Americans of 1764 were to the mother country, they had so long enjoyed practical independence that any attempt at systematic interference now would almost certainly be resisted. English ideas of political and personal liberty had been for generations more general in the colonies than in England itself. The colonists had subdued the wilderness, fought the Indians and the French, built homes and churches, cultivated farms, and developed trade, and, for the most part, without English aid. To a large extent, they had been permitted to govern themselves. Further—and this is very important—they looked to the crown and not to parliament for such direction and control as had hitherto been exercised. The sugar act, with the policy that it embodied, was to all intents and purposes a new departure.

A Boston Town-meeting

The passage of the sugar act became known in the American colonies in May and created a great sensation in all of them. The molasses act had imposed a parliamentary tax but only as a trade regulation; the sugar act proposed a parliamentary tax but did it to produce a revenue. This difference in the intent pushed to the front the question of the right to tax. This was a constitutional question on which Boston must be heard. At a meeting held at Faneuil Hall, instructions to the town's representatives in the general court, previously prepared by Samuel Adams, were adopted by the indignant citizens. The instructions explicitly declared that "there is no Room for further Delay. . . . These unexpected Proceedings may be preparatory to new Taxations upon us: for if our Trade may be taxed, why not our

May 24, 1764

Peter Faneuil, who presented to the City of Boston the Hall which bears his Name to this Day



Present-day Exterior and Interior of Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty"

A Suggestion of Colonial Union

Lands? Why not the produce of our Lands, and everything we possess or make use of? This we apprehend annihilates our Charter Right to govern and tax ourselves. . . . If Taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal Representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free Subjects to the miserable State of Tributary Slaves?" The document contained the added suggestion that "as His Majesty's other Northern American Colonys are embarked with us in this most important Bottom, we further desire you to use your Endeavors that their weight may be added to that of this Province: that by the united applications of all who are aggrieved, all may Happily obtain Redress."

Sam Adams

See Frontispiece

Samuel Adams, then and now better known as Sam Adams, thus introduced to us, was forty-two years old, a graduate of Harvard College and a Boston selectman. As a money-maker, he had long since proved a failure; but his wants were few, his honesty unquestioned, and his public spirit unexcelled. He had, in a high degree, the ability to present profound and weighty subjects in a popular manner—an ability that well fitted him for the part he was now to play as the leading advocate of American independence.

From Economics to Politics

To admit that Adams and his supporters recognized the fact that sixpence unpaid was less burdensome than threepence exacted, does not remove the foundation facts that the issue had been changed from economics to politics, and that the new principle involved and avowed must, if clung to, lead to remonstrance and resistance. The change of issue thus made was unfortunate for the ministerial party. It came in an hour when a young and growing country was beginning to find that its garments were too strait; when great expectations and undefined aspirations were breaking forth; when there were longings more or less conscious for more air, greater freedom of movement, and larger fields of action; when "the growing colonies were making their way, guided by the unseen Hand, towards separation, freedom, and independence." The spectacular nullification of the stamp act of 1765 has led historians to pass lightly over the sugar act of 1764, but a careful study of contemporary colonial opinion shows that the earlier statute must be reckoned among the principal, immediate causes of the American revolution.

An American Episcopate

The political situation was further complicated by a non-conformist fear that the British government would set up an Anglican episcopate in the American colonies. Such a scheme had been in contemplation as far back as the time of Archbishop Laud. Under Charles II., the restricted suffragan authority of the bishop of London in the colonies received legal sanction, whence the practice of appointing commissaries to exercise his delegated authority therein. Soon after its incorporation, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began to urge the institution of bishops in America. Queen Anne sanctioned the plan, but her successor, George I., did not approve the project, and Walpole was too cautious to try so dangerous an experiment. Near the end of Walpole's ministry, however, the subject was revived by Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford, in reply to whom it was pointed out that, if such a step was taken, some means must be found for the suffragans' support; if the provincial assemblies should refuse to provide the money, the whole influence of the church of England would be used to procure an act of parliament taxing the colonies for the purpose. The subject would thus assume a political aspect. Henceforth, the advocates of episcopacy became more and more persistent. Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London from 1748 to 1761, seems to have refrained, as far as possible, from exercising his authority in the colonies in the hope of forcing Episcopalians in America "to demand an episcopate of their own," and was supported by Joseph Butler, bishop of Durham, who, in 1750, drew up a plan for the proposed episcopate.

The Mayhew Controversy

In 1763, interest in the subject was intensified by the publication of a pamphlet by Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, claiming that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been perverted into an instrument for rooting out Presbyterianism and establishing a colonial episcopacy. Mayhew's pamphlet provoked a reply from Secker, now the archbishop of Canterbury, in which the distinguished prelate set forth "a plan of what the proposed bishop would be allowed to do and what not to do," much as Bishop Butler had done in 1750. Returning to the charge, Mayhew argued that, when once established, the bishops would not be content without some of the "power and grandeur" enjoyed by the bishops in England, and expressed a fear of Episcopalian control of legislatures, taxes laid for the support of an Anglican church established in America, "test acts, ecclesiastical courts, and what not." The controversy excited great interest in the colonies where the old hatred and fear of episcopacy blazed up once more. John Adams says that the supposed design to establish bishops "spread an universal alarm against the authority of parliament"—the body that must enact the needed legislation.

A Pamphlet War

In 1767, while the Townshend acts were on the anvil, the political strife was intensified by a pamphlet war between Thomas Bradbury Chandler and Charles Chauncy and their respective allies. Chandler, Connecticut born, went to England in 1751, was admitted to orders by the bishop of London, and began his missionary labors at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in the same year. Chauncy was Boston born, a grandson of a president of Harvard and pastor of the First Church in Boston. Chandler opened the contest in his *Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America*, a powerful argument in favor of episcopacy and in advocacy of a scheme much like those previously advanced by Butler and Secker. Chauncy made an elaborate and forcible answer to Chandler's *Appeal* in which he argued that the supporters of episcopacy had much more in mind than they were willing to declare. "We are as fully persuaded," he wrote, "as if they had openly said it, that they have in view nothing short of a COMPLETE CHURCH HIERARCHY, after the pattern of that at home, with like offices, in all their various degrees of dignity, with a like large revenue for their grand support, and with the allowance of no other privileges to dissenters but that of bare toleration." The pamphlet controversy was accompanied by an acrimonious newspaper war, for the proceedings of parliament under Townshend's lead, as will soon be explained more fully, had given a great stimulus to American political literature. The pamphlet war had its political aspect, and those aspects had become important in the minds of the people. 1767 1768

The Effect

Thus the agitation for an American episcopate should be reckoned as, at least, a secondary cause of the American revolution, although, in the opinion of Doctor Cross, "the strained relations which heralded the War of Independence strengthened the opposition to episcopacy, rather than that religious differences were a prime cause of political alienation." The contest had a marked influence on the development of the revolutionary parties. "It is at least a tenable hypothesis," writes Cross, "that the bitterness of the controversy brought out so sharply the latent hostility between Episcopalian and Puritan, that many churchmen who might otherwise have taken the side of their country were, by the force of their injured religious convictions, driven over to the royalist ranks." In 1768, the Massachusetts legislature ordered its London agent strenuously to "oppose the establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America," and even "Virginia, where the church of England was established, was opposed to the introduction of bishops." All in all, we cannot doubt that these controversies contributed "to embitter the mind of the patriots, and thus to accelerate the impending crisis."

The Parson's Cause

As an illustration of the colonial spirit, slumbering but easily aroused, stands the famous "Parson's Cause." By a Virginia act of 1696, the salaries of the clergy of that colony had been fixed at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In 1755, and again in 1758, the tobacco crop having been greatly injured by drought, the general assembly authorized the payment of taxes and salaries in money instead of tobacco, and at the previous current rate of twopence per pound. As the smallness of the crop had raised the price of the staple, many of the ministers objected to the loss of income caused by this legislation. Their complaints reached the ears of the bishop of London and the Virginia act of 1758 was vetoed by the king in council.

August 10, 1759

Introducing Patrick Henry

In 1762, the Reverend James Maury brought suit against the collectors of his parish for the amount of his salary in tobacco. The court decided against the validity of the acts, and the question went to the jury for a determination of the damages. The attorney for the plaintiff explained to the jury that their duty consisted in calculating the difference between the salary as computed under the acts of the assembly, and the value of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco at the current market rate of sixpence a pound. The counsel for the defense was Patrick Henry, a young lawyer fast rising into prominence. In a fiery speech, Henry denounced the action of the crown in setting aside the Virginia act as "an instance of misrule," and an act of tyranny that forfeited all claim to the obedience of the subject. Murmurs of "Treason!" "Treason!" were heard, but Henry, undisturbed, and unhindered by the court, continued his argument. As to the law, Henry was hopelessly wrong, but the jury yielded to his eloquence and brought in a verdict of one penny damages.

With such a spirit in the colonies, the raising of a revenue in America by act of parliament seemed likely to be attended with difficulties. The sugar act, however, was only a part of the ministerial program, the remainder of which, together with the working of the whole, demands our attention.

1763
The Outlook

CHAPTER III

THE STAMP ACT

Grenville's Declaratory Resolves

IT was not anticipated that the duties imposed by the sugar act and the molasses act would produce more than one-third of the additional revenue needed to carry Townshend's scheme into effect. For the remainder, recourse was to be had to stamp duties, the use of which had long been familiar in England. As early as September, 1763, the English commissioners of stamp duties were called upon to report a plan for the extension of the system to America. In March, 1764, before the sugar act had been finally voted upon, Grenville introduced into the house of commons a series of declaratory resolutions announcing his intention to bring in a stamp act at the next session.

The Bait

It was explained that the delay in the introduction of the act was to the end that the colonial assemblies might have opportunity to suggest some other method of raising the needed revenue in case the plan submitted by the ministry was not acceptable. "The colonists now have it in their power," ingeniously proclaimed Grenville, "by agreeing to this tax, to establish a precedent for their being consulted before any tax is imposed on them by parliament; for their approbation of it being signified to parliament next year, when the tax comes to be imposed, will afford a forcible argument for the like proceeding in all such cases. If they think any other mode of taxation more convenient to them, and make any proposition of equal efficacy with the stamp duty, I will give it all due consideration." Parliament, most of whose members neither knew nor cared anything about America, approved the plan.

1764

A Tell-tale Preamble

That the government in England was about to enter upon a sterner policy was further shown by the preamble of an act passed at the parliamentary session that ended on the nineteenth of April, 1764, in which appear these words: "Whereas it is expedient that new provisions and regulations should be established for improving the revenue of this kingdom, and for extending and securing the navigation and commerce between Great Britain and your Majesty's dominions in America, which, by the peace, have been so happily enlarged; and whereas it is just and necessary that a revenue be raised in your Majesty's said dominions in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same," etc.

4 George III. cap. 15

The Advance-guard

At the time of the Boston town-meeting mentioned in the preceding chapter, the evidence was conclusive that England had made up her mind that "the time had come for a complete readjustment of her somewhat loose, irregular, and unbusiness-like relations to those American possessions, particularly with the view of making them contribute some substantial help to the general cost of the empire, in the benefits of which all participated." In this crisis, the aggressive leadership of Massachusetts was natural; for it was there, more than in any other colony, that the spirit of colonial independence had been fostered, and encroachments of the royal prerogative resisted; there that Otis's assertion of the principles of English liberty had found the warmest welcome; and there that the enforcement of the acts of trade would lay the heaviest burden.

A Committee of Correspondence

The Massachusetts general court convened on the thirtieth of May. In accordance with the instructions of the Boston town-meeting, Otis prepared a memorial that the house ordered to be sent to the London agent of the colony with an elaborate letter instructing him to urge the repeal of the sugar act and to remonstrate against the

1764

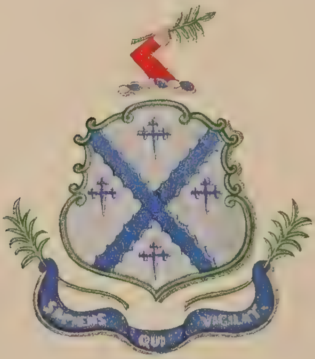
June 13

proposed stamp act—"a scathing rebuke for neglect and inefficiency that must have made his ears tingle." Just before the general court was prorogued, the house, again at the instigation of Adams, appointed a committee to act in the recess of the court and to correspond with the assemblies of the other colonies, with a view to common action against the common danger. This idea of committees of correspondence was promptly taken up elsewhere. The Rhode Island assembly chose a committee that addressed a vigorous letter to the assembly of Pennsylvania. The Quaker colony replied by voting a remonstrance against the new taxes and sending Franklin to England as colonial agent. New York and North Carolina also appointed committees, while the assemblies of Connecticut, Virginia, and South Carolina drew up petitions and remonstrances.

An Inspiring Pamphlet

July

The era of the modern newspaper had not yet been ushered in and men who wished to catch the public ear were in the habit of writing pamphlets. James Otis, now a prominent figure in Massachusetts politics, published the most sedate of his political writings, a pamphlet entitled *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved.* With "unwonted sobriety; few humorous or grotesque passages; few bursts of passion; in many places a moderation of tone almost judicial," it gave consideration to "the origin of government, the nature and rights of colonies in general, and the nature and rights of the British colonies in particular." Insisting that the fundamental, free principles of the British constitution antedate and underlie the colonial charters, so that, even if the charters were annulled, the colonists would still "be men, citizens, and British subjects," and "entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent, and inseparable rights of our fellow-subjects



Coat of Arms of James Otis

in Great Britain," he admits that parliament "has an undoubted power and lawful authority to make acts for the general good that, by naming them, shall and ought to be equally binding as upon the subjects of Great Britain within the realm." But even the supreme legislature "cannot take from any man any part of his property without his consent in person or by representation." "No parts of his Majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent" and "every part has a right to be represented in the supreme or some subordinate legislature."

Representation and Taxation

On the subject of representation and taxation, the pamphlet further sets forth that "the colonies are subordinate dominions, and are now in such a state as to make it best, for the good of the whole, that they should not only be continued in the enjoyment of subordinate legislation, but be also represented, in some proportion to their number and estates, in the grand legislative of the nation; that this would firmly unite all parts of the British empire in the greatest peace and prosperity, and render it invulnerable and perpetual." Since such representation was impracticable on account of the distance of the colonies, and for other reasons, it would be better for all concerned that there should be, in parliament, "neither colonial representation nor colonial taxation."

Purpose

So evident is the purpose of the pamphlet—not to bring about a revolution but to avert one—that there can be no doubt of the sincerity of Otis's protestations of loyalty to England: "We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem, and reverence our mother country and adore our king. And could the choice of independency be offered the colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter. The ministry, in all future generations, may rely on it, that British America will never prove undutiful, till driven to it, as the last fatal resort against ministerial oppression, which will make the wisest mad and the weakest strong."

Effect

While such was the purpose of the pamphlet, the effect was "to furnish the starting-point for the entire movement of revolutionary reasoning, by which some two millions of people were to justify themselves in the years to come, as they advanced along their rugged and stormy path toward Independence. It became for a time one of the legal text-books of the opponents of the ministry; it was a law-arsenal, from which other combatants, on that side, drew some of their best weapons. It expounded with perfect clearness, even if with some shrinking, the constitutional philosophy of the whole subject; and it gave to the members of a conservative and a law-respecting race, a conservative and a lawful pretext for resisting law, and for revolutionizing the government."

Oxenbridge Thacher

September, 1764

About two months after the appearance of Otis's pamphlet, there appeared at Boston a quieter one entitled *The Sentiments of a British American,* and written by Oxenbridge Thacher, a Harvard graduate who, lacking strength of voice, had given up the ministry for the practice of law. Within his "fragile and invalided form there glowed a fiery spirit, intense in opinion, jealous and anxious for the right, and ready at any cost to contend against the arms or the arts of evil." Assuming that the British parliament intended to be just to the British colonies, he raised the inquiry whether the recent act "for granting certain duties in the British colonies" had overstepped the line of justice toward those colonies, and launched his calm and lawyer-like argument against what he felt to be a mistaken and disastrous policy.

In the Middle Colonies

In the same year, a pamphlet, *Essay on the Trade of the Northern Colonies of Great Britain in North America,* was printed at Philadelphia and reprinted at London. "With ingenuity, candor, and force it shows that the industrial interests of the whole British empire, and the prosperity of all British subjects would be improved by taking off, rather than increasing, these tax restrictions on the American colonial trade." Still another pamphlet, *Some Thoughts on the Method of Improving and Securing the Advantages which accrue to Great Britain from the Northern Colonies,* was published in a New

York newspaper in 1764 and republished in England in 1765. Dealing only with the impolicy of the ministerial measures, it was so wise and persuasive that Professor Tyler says that "had the brain of George Grenville and of George the Third been capable of absorbing it, there would have been no American Revolution." 1764

Looking Forward

Although these four pamphlets of 1764 were published after the adoption of Grenville's declaratory resolves, not one of them contains any allusion to the stamp act. The sole occasion of colonial alarm seems to have been the passage of the sugar act in April. In August, the earl of Halifax called upon each colonial governor for "a list of all instruments made use of in public transactions . . . within your government, with proper and sufficient descriptions of the same; in order that, if Parliament should think proper to pursue the intention of the aforesaid [Grenville] resolutions, they may thereby be enabled to carry it into execution in the most effectual and least burdensome manner." Soon after this, the significance of the coming stamp act began to dawn upon the American people, "and then, almost at once, the centre of gravity shifted from the immediate past to the immediate future,"—from the measure that had become a law to the measure that might become a law.

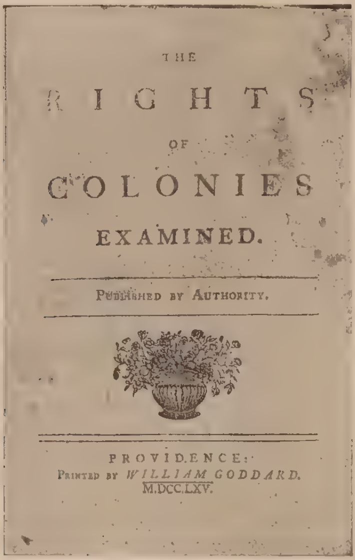
The Dream

On the tenth of November, the *Providence Gazette* printed what purported to be an account of a dream concerning "this queer news about a stamping law," one of the few enjoyable specimens of colonial comic writing. In the following month, a remarkable pamphlet appeared at Providence, "published by authority." Although the name of the author was not thereon printed, *The Rights of the Colonies Examined* was well known to be the work of Stephen Hopkins, then governor of Rhode Island—and elected by the people. After the customary investigation into the origin of society, etc., he considers the various measures recently enacted and then impending as the causes of "great uneasiness and consternation." As to the stamp act, the mere announcement of it "hath much more, and for much more reason, alarmed the

December 22

Stephen Hopkins

British subjects in America than anything that had ever been done before! . . . For it must be confessed by all men that they who are taxed at pleasure by others cannot possibly have any property; . . . they who have no property can have no freedom. . . . Free people have ever thought, and always will think, that the money necessary for their own defense lies safest in their own hands until it is wanted immediately for that purpose." It is unfair to denounce as unseemly the loud outcry now raised in the colonies, for as Dean Swift says, "a man on a wreck was never denied the liberty of roaring as loud as he could." This "strong and sober-minded pamphlet," an even better statement of the colonial position than Otis's pamphlet of similar title, was reprinted in nearly all the colonies, and, even in England, its temperate and conciliatory tone "carried conviction to many minds that would have been repelled by the brusqueness and asperity of Otis."



THE
RIGHTS
OF
COLONIES
EXAMINED.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

PROVIDENCE:
PRINTED BY *WILLIAM GODDARD.*
M.DCC.LXV.

Title-page of Stephen Hopkins's Pamphlet

The Germ of Nullification

In all this volume of protest, there was neither talk nor thought of separation. We must be careful not to read back the ideas and aspirations of a later time into a period when those ideas and aspirations were as yet unborn. The Americans of 1764, with all their independent spirit, loved the mother country, venerated its traditions and institutions, gloried in their connection with it, and could hardly imagine a policy so grievous as to force them to walk alone. In matters of political freedom, they were more English than Englishmen at home, and more keenly alive to their rights and privileges; but they had seen no reason to believe that vigorous protest against what they regarded as unjust laws would long go unheeded. But permeating all these avowedly loyal discussions were the germs of a "pestilent political heresy"—the doctrine of nullification.

The Halifax Gentleman

In opposition to this incipient heresy, Martin Howard took up his pen—our first American loyalist writer. Howard was an eminent lawyer of Newport and had served with Stephen Hopkins as a Rhode Island delegate to the Albany congress of 1754. Unfortunately, he attempted to conceal his identity and published his pamphlet at Newport under the title of *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax, To His Friend in Rhode Island.* This pamphlet, "not lacking in sarcasm and yet never abusive or unparliamentary," was so able and impressive that it could not be ignored. In the lower house of the Rhode Island general assembly, the deputy-governor asked that it be taken into consideration, and others demanded that it be burned by the common hangman. Of course, there were replies by Hopkins and by Otis, against whom the Halifax Gentleman retorted in a second and final pamphlet. The interesting story of this campaign of the pamphleteers, told in greater detail than is here possible, may be read in Professor Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*, a wholly admirable work upon which I have drawn freely. Although the Halifax Gentleman was able to hold his own with his opponents, Martin Howard was no match for the Newport mob, which hanged and burned him in effigy, and, on the evening of the following day, destroyed his house and treated him with personal violence. Fearing for his life, Howard "took shelter in the *Signet* man of war and soon after departed for Great Britain"—the first of many who thus suffered because their convictions could not be reconciled with those of the devotees of "liberty."

February, 1765

August 27, 1765

Governor Bernard's Pamphlet

Governor Bernard in his *Principles of Law and Polity* urged upon the ministry the abolition of the colonial charters, the reorganization of the colonial governments on a uniform plan, an American nobility and independent civil list, and the provision of an adequate revenue.

An Official Characterization

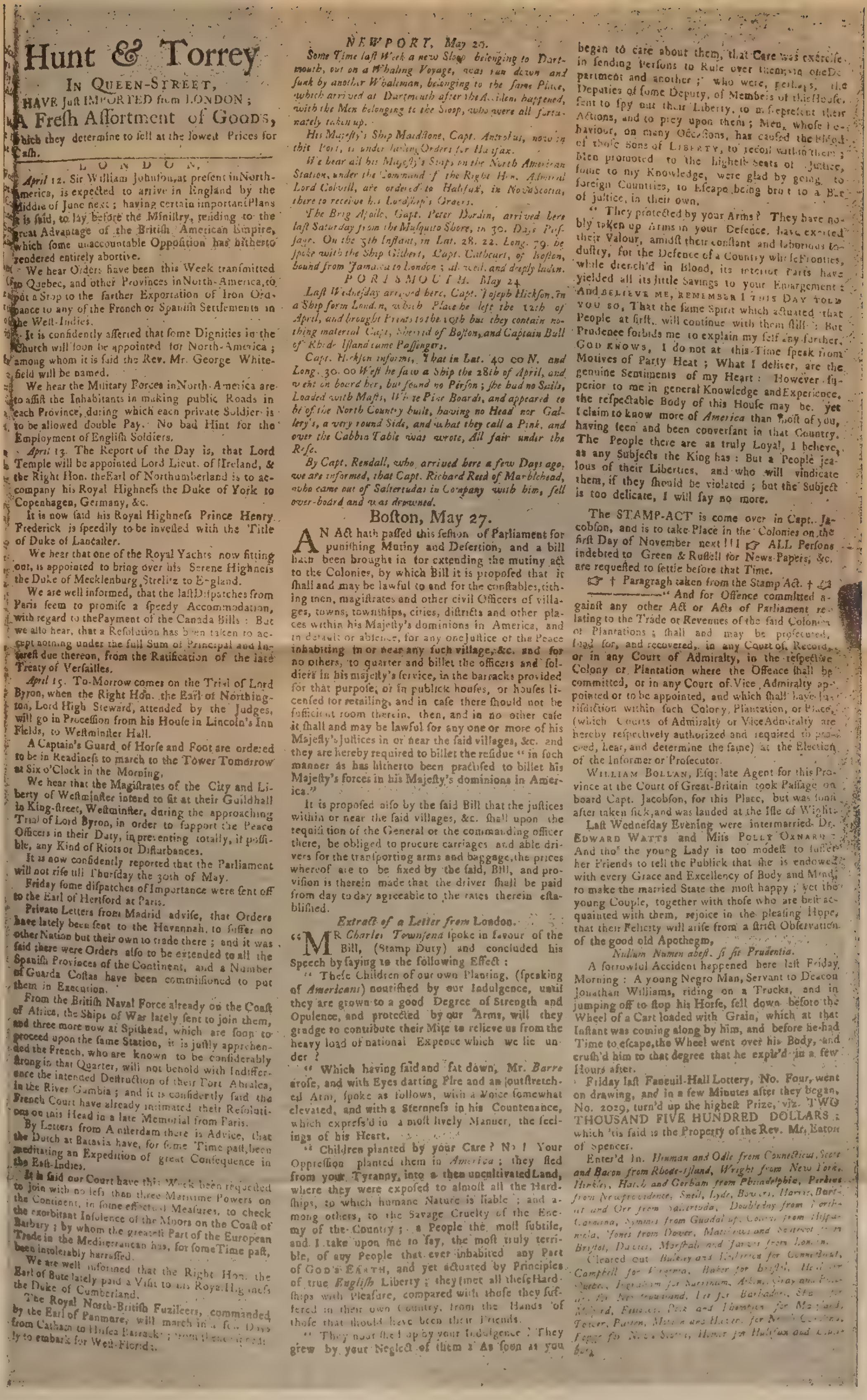
When the Massachusetts general court met again in October, 1764, a memorial to the house of commons and a letter to the London agent, both drawn by Thomas Hutchinson, the conservative chief-justice of the province, were approved, though not without the opposition of the more radical members of the house; in short, it was a compromise between the courtly council and the ardent patriots of the house. Although a recent order in council had clipped what is now Vermont from New Hampshire and given it to New York, the memorial of the New York assembly deprecated "the loss of such rights as they had hitherto enjoyed" and the certainty of consequent "discord, poverty, and slavery." These documents and Otis's pamphlet were soon laid before the king by the board of trade. In their letter of transmission, the board said: "We humbly conceive that in this letter the acts and resolutions of the legislature of Great Britain are treated with the most indecent disrespect, principles of the most dangerous nature and tendency openly avowed, and the assemblies of other colonies invited in the most extraordinary manner to adopt the same opinions."

July 20, 1764

October, 1764

The Passage of the Stamp Act

As the colonial assemblies suggested no alternative plan, Grenville, on the sixth of February, 1765, introduced his resolution for a stamp act. The resolution was agreed to and the bill itself was presented on the thirteenth. Petitions against the bill were refused consideration, it being contrary to the rules of the house of commons to receive petitions relating to money bills. Burke, who followed the debate from the gallery (he had not yet entered parliament), afterwards declared that he had never heard a more languid debate in the house. Pitt was ill and absent, and Conway, Beckford, and Barré seem to have been almost the only speakers in opposition. The bill passed the commons by a vote of two hundred and five to forty-nine, while in the house of lords there was no division. As the



Hunt & Torrey

IN QUEEN-STREET,
HAVE juſt IMPORTED from LONDON;
A Freſh Aſſortment of GOODS,
which they determine to ſell at the loweſt Prices for Caſh.

L O N D O N,

April 12. Sir William Johnſon, at preſent in North-America, is expected to arrive in England by the Middle of June next; having certain important Plans it is ſaid, to lay before the Miniſtry, tending to the great Advantage of the Britiſh American Empire, which ſome unaccountable Oppoſition has hitherto rendered entirely abortive.

We hear Orders have been this Week tranſmitted to Quebec, and other Provinces in North-America, to put a Stop to the farther Exportation of Iron Ordnance to any of the French or Spaniſh Settlements in the Weſt-Indies.

It is confidently aſſerted that ſome Dignities in the Church will ſoon be appointed for North-America; among whom it is ſaid the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield will be named.

We hear the Military Forces in North-America are to aſſiſt the Inhabitants in making public Roads in each Province, during which each private Soldier is to be allowed double Pay. No bad Hint for the Employment of Engliſh Soldiers.

April 13. The Report of the Day is, that Lord Temple will be appointed Lord Lieut. of Ireland, & the Right Hon. the Earl of Northumberland is to accompany his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York to Copenhagen, Germany, &c.

It is now ſaid his Royal Highneſs Prince Henry Frederick is ſpeedily to be inveſted with the Title of Duke of Lancaſter.

We hear that one of the Royal Yachts now fitting out, is appointed to bring over his Serene Highneſs the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz to England.

We are well informed, that the laſt Diſpatches from Paris ſeem to promiſe a ſpeedy Accommodation, with regard to the Payment of the Canada Bills: But we alſo hear, that a Reſolution has been taken to accept nothing under the full Sum of Principal and Intereſt due thereon, from the Ratification of the late Treaty of Verſailles.

April 15. To-Morrow comes on the Trial of Lord Byron, when the Right Hon. the Earl of Northington, Lord High Steward, attended by the Judges, will go in Proceſſion from his Houſe in Lincoln's Inn Fields, to Weſtminſter Hall.

A Captain's Guard of Horſe and Foot are ordered to be in Readineſs to march to the Tower Tomorrow at Six o'Clock in the Morning.

We hear that the Magiſtrates of the City and Liberty of Weſtminſter intend to ſit at their Guildhall in King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, during the approaching Trial of Lord Byron, in order to ſupport the Peace Officers in their Duty, in preventing totally, if poſſible, any Kind of Riots or Diſturbances.

It is now confidently reported that the Parliament will not riſe till Thurſday the 30th of May.

Friday ſome diſpatches of Importance were ſent off to the Earl of Hertford at Paris.

Private Letters from Madrid adviſe, that Orders have lately been ſent to the Havannah, to ſuffer no other Nation but their own to trade there; and it was ſaid there were Orders alſo to be extended to all the Spaniſh Provinces of the Continent, and a Number of Guarda Coſtas have been commiſſioned to put them in Execution.

From the Britiſh Naval Force already on the Coaſt of Africa, the Ships of War lately ſent to join them, and three more now at Spithead, which are ſoon to proceed upon the ſame Station, it is juſtly apprehended the French, who are known to be conſiderably ſtrong in that Quarter, will not behold with Indifference the intended Deſtruction of their Fort Albralea, in the River Gambia; and it is confidently ſaid the French Court have already intimated their Reſolutions on this Head in a late Memorial from Paris.

By Letters from Amſterdam there is Advice, that the Dutch at Batavia have, for ſome Time paſt, been meditating an Expedition of great Conſequence in the Eaſt-Indies.

It is ſaid our Court have this Week been requeſted to join with no leſs than three Maritime Powers on the Continent, in ſome effectual Meaſures, to check the exorbitant Inſolence of the Moors on the Coaſt of Barbary; by whom the greateſt Part of the European Trade in the Mediterranean has, for ſome Time paſt, been intolerably harraſſed.

We are well informed that the Right Hon. the Earl of Bute lately paid a Viſit to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland.

The Royal North-Britiſh Fuzileers, commanded by the Earl of Panmure, will march in a few Days from Catham to Hulſea Barracks; from thence [illegible] ly to embark for Weſt-Florida.

NEWPORT, May 20.

Some Time laſt Week a new Sloop belonging to Dartmouth, out on a Whaling Voyage, was run down and ſunk by another Whaleman, belonging to the ſame Place, which arrived at Dartmouth after the Accident happened, with the Men belonging to the Sloop, who were all fortunately taken up.

His Majeſty's Ship Maidſtone, Capt. Antrobus, now in this Port, is under ſailing Orders for Halifax.

We hear all his Majeſty's Ships on the North American Station, under the Command of the Right Hon. Admiral Lord Colvill, are ordered to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, there to receive his Lordſhip's Orders.

The Brig Apollo, Capt. Peter Dordin, arrived here laſt Saturday from the Muſquito Shore, in 30. Days Paſſage. On the 5th Inſtant, in Lat. 28. 22. Long. 79. he ſpoke with the Ship Gilbert, Capt. Cathcart, of Boſton, bound from Jamaica to London; all well, and deeply laden.

PORTSMOUTH. May 24.

Laſt Wedneſday arrived here, Capt. Joſeph Hickſon, in a Ship from London, which Place he left the 12th of April, and brought Prints to the 10th but they contain nothing material. Capt. Sherrid of Boſton, and Captain Bull of Rhode Iſland came Paſſengers.

Capt. Hickſon informs, That in Lat. 40 00 N. and Long. 30. 00 Weſt he ſaw a Ship the 28th of April, and went on board her, but found no Perſon; ſhe had no Sails, Loaded with Maſts, White Pine Boards, and appeared to be of the North Country built, having no Head nor Gallery's, a very round Side, and what they call a Pink, and over the Cabbin Table was wrote, All fair under the Roſe.

By Capt. Rendall, who arrived here a few Days ago, we are informed, that Capt. Richard Reed of Marblehead, who came out of Saltertudas in Company with him, fell over-board and was drowned.

Boſton, May 27.

AN Act hath paſſed this ſeſſion of Parliament for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, and a bill hath been brought in for extending the mutiny act to the Colonies, by which Bill it is propoſed that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for the conſtables, tithing men, magiſtrates and other civil Officers of villages, towns, townſhips, cities, diſtricts and other places within his Majeſty's dominions in America, and in default or abſence, for any one Juſtice of the Peace inhabiting in or near any ſuch village, &c. and for no others, to quarter and billet the officers and ſoldiers in his majeſty's ſervice, in the barracks provided for that purpoſe, or in publick houſes, or houſes licenſed for retailing, and in caſe there ſhould not be ſufficient room therein, then, and in no other caſe it ſhall and may be lawful for any one or more of his Majeſty's Juſtices in or near the ſaid villages, &c. and they are hereby required to billet the reſidue "in ſuch manner as has hitherto been practiſed to billet his Majeſty's forces in his Majeſty's dominions in America."

It is propoſed alſo by the ſaid Bill that the juſtices within or near the ſaid villages, &c. ſhall upon the requiſition of the General or the commanding officer there, be obliged to procure carriages and able drivers for the tranſporting arms and baggage, the prices whereof are to be fixed by the ſaid, Bill, and proviſion is therein made that the driver ſhall be paid from day to day agreeable to the rates therein eſtabliſhed.

Extract of a Letter from London.

"MR *Charles Townſend* ſpoke in favour of the Bill, (Stamp Duty) and concluded his Speech by ſaying to the following Effect:

"These Children of our own Planting, (ſpeaking of *Americans*) nouriſhed by our Indulgence, until they are grown to a good Degree of Strength and Opulence, and protected by our Arms, will they grudge to contribute their Mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national Expence which we lie under?

"Which having ſaid and ſat down, Mr. *Barre* aroſe, and with Eyes darting Fire and an outſtretched Arm, ſpoke as follows, with a Voice ſomewhat elevated, and with a Sternneſs in his Countenance, which expreſs'd in a moſt lively Manner, the feelings of his Heart.

"Children planted by your Care? No! Your Oppreſſion planted them in *America*; they fled from your Tyranny, into a then uncultivated Land, where they were expoſed to almoſt all the Hardſhips, to which humane Nature is liable; and among others, to the Savage Cruelty of the Enemy of the Country; a People the moſt ſubtile, and I take upon me to ſay, the moſt truly terrible, of any People that ever inhabited any Part of GOD'S EARTH, and yet actuated by Principles of true *Engliſh* Liberty; they met all theſe Hardſhips with Pleaſure, compared with thoſe they ſuffered in their own Country, from the Hands of thoſe that ſhould have been their Friends.

"They nouriſhed up by your Indulgence? They grew by your Neglect of them: As ſoon as you began to care about them, that Care was exerciſe in ſending Perſons to Rule over them, in one Department and another; who were, perhaps, the Deputies of ſome Deputy, of Members of this Houſe, ſent to ſpy out their Liberty, to miſrepreſent their Actions, and to prey upon them; Men, whoſe behaviour, on many Occaſions, has cauſed the Blood of thoſe Sons of LIBERTY, to recoil within them; Men promoted to the higheſt Seats of Juſtice, ſome to my Knowledge, were glad by going to foreign Countries, to Eſcape being brot to a Bar of juſtice, in their own.

"They protected by your Arms? They have nobly taken up Arms in your Defence, have exerted their Valour, amidſt their conſtant and laborious Induſtry, for the Defence of a Country whoſe Frontiers, while drench'd in Blood, its interior Parts have yielded all its little Savings to your Enlargement: And BELIEVE ME, REMEMBER I THIS DAY TOLD YOU SO, That the ſame Spirit which actuated that People at firſt, will continue with them ſtill: But Prudence forbids me to explain my ſelf any farther, GOD KNOWS, I do not at this Time ſpeak from Motives of Party Heat; What I deliver, are the genuine Sentiments of my Heart: However ſuperior to me in general Knowledge and Experience, the reſpectable Body of this Houſe may be, yet I claim to know more of *America* than moſt of you, having ſeen and been converſant in that Country. The People there are as truly Loyal, I believe, as any Subjects the King has: But a People jealous of their Liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they ſhould be violated; but the Subject is too delicate, I will ſay no more.

The STAMP-ACT is come over in Capt. Jacobſon, and is to take Place in the Colonies on the firſt Day of November next!!! ☞ ALL Perſons indebted to Green & Ruſſell for News-Papers, &c. are requeſted to ſettle before that Time.

☞ † Paragraph taken from the Stamp Act. † ☜

——————"And for Offence committed againſt any other Act or Acts of Parliament relating to the Trade or Revenues of the ſaid Colonies or Plantations; ſhall and may be proſecuted, ſued for, and recovered, in any Court of Record, or in any Court of Admiralty, in the reſpective Colony or Plantation where the Offence ſhall be committed, or in any Court of Vice Admiralty appointed or to be appointed, and which ſhall have juriſdiction within ſuch Colony, Plantation, or Place, (which Courts of Admiralty or Vice Admiralty are hereby reſpectively authorized and required to proceed, hear, and determine the ſame) at the Election of the Informer or Proſecutor.

WILLIAM BOLLAN, Eſq; late Agent for this Province at the Court of Great-Britain took Paſſage on board Capt. Jacobſon, for this Place, but was ſoon after taken ſick, and was landed at the Iſle of Wight.

Laſt Wedneſday Evening were intermarried Dr. EDWARD WATTS and Miſs POLLY OXNARD: And tho' the young Lady is too modeſt to ſuffer her Friends to tell the Publick that ſhe is endowed with every Grace and Excellency of Body and Mind, to make the married State the moſt happy; yet the young Couple, together with thoſe who are beſt acquainted with them, rejoice in the pleaſing Hope, that their Felicity will ariſe from a ſtrict Obſervation of the good old Apothegm,

Nullum Numen abeſt. ſi ſit Prudentia.

A ſorrowful Accident happened here laſt Friday Morning: A young Negro Man, Servant to Deacon Jonathan Williams, riding on a Trucks, and in jumping off to ſtop his Horſe, fell down before the Wheel of a Cart loaded with Grain, which at that Inſtant was coming along by him, and before he had Time to eſcape, the Wheel went over his Body, and cruſh'd him to that degree that he expir'd in a few Hours after.

Friday laſt Faneuil-Hall Lottery, No. Four, went on drawing, and in a few Minutes after they began, No. 2029, turn'd up the higheſt Prize, viz. TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS: which 'tis ſaid is the Property of the Rev. Mr. Eaton of Spencer.

Enter'd In. *Hinman and Odle from Connecticut, Scott and Bacon from Rhode-Iſland, Wright from New York, Hinkley, Hatch and Gorham from Philadelphia, Perkins from Newprovidence, Sneil, Lyde, Bowers, Harris, Bartlet and Orr from Saltertuda, Doubleday from North-Carolina, Symmes from Guadaloupe, Coffin from Hiſpaniola, Jones from Dover, Matthews and* [illegible] *from Briſtol, Davies, Marſhall and Jarvis from London.*

Cleared out *Bulkley and* [illegible] *for Connecticut, Campbell for Virginia, Baker for Briſtol,* [illegible] *Quebec, Ingraham for Surrinam,* [illegible] *for Newfoundland, Lee for Barbadoes,* [illegible] *Maryland,* [illegible] *for North Carolina,* [illegible] *for Nova Scotia,* [illegible] *for Halifax and Louiſbourg.*

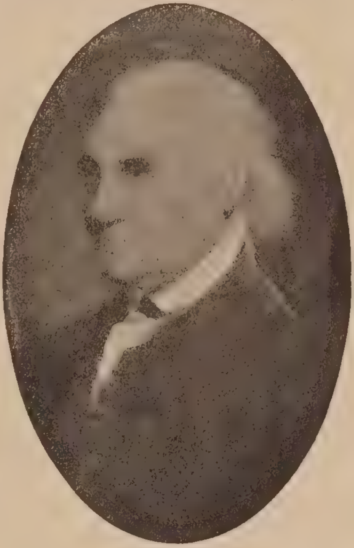
PAGE FROM "BOSTON POST-BOY AND ADVERTISER," MAY 27, 1765

king was then insane, the royal assent was given by commission on the twenty-second of March.

A Friendly Voice

May 27

In a report printed in the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Jared Ingersoll, the colonial agent for Connecticut, represented Townshend as using these words: "These children of our own planting, nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?" When Townshend sat down, Colonel Isaac Barré, an Irish officer who was with Wolfe at Quebec, exclaimed: "Children planted by your care? No! Your oppression planted them in America. . . . They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. . . . They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense. . . . The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated." A few months later, the Boston town-meeting ordered Barré's portrait hung in Faneuil Hall.


Isaac Barré

A Two-shilling Revenue Stamp of 1765

Provisions of the Stamp Act

The stamp act required the use of stamps or stamped paper, ranging in price from threepence to ten pounds, for a great variety of legal documents, besides playing-cards, pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, and advertisements. A bill of

1765 lading, for example, was taxed fourpence; a retail liquor license, not including wines, twenty shillings, or three pounds if wine was included; a pack of cards, one shilling; a pair of dice, ten shillings; each advertisement in a newspaper, two shillings. Elaborate provisions for the enforcement of the act and the punishment of those who violated it were also made. Vice-admiralty courts without juries were given jurisdiction of offenses against the act and all other revenue or trade acts. The proceeds of the act, like those of the sugar act, were to be kept separate from other moneys in the treasury, and to be "from time to time disposed of by parliament, towards further defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said colonies and plantations." The act was to go into effect on the first day of November.

5 George III. cap. 12

A Distracted Public

In April, 1763, John Wilkes, a member of the house of commons, had published a bitter attack on the king's speech. For this, he was sent to the Tower; in May, he was discharged on a writ of habeas corpus; in January, 1764, he was expelled from the house. When the court of the king's bench entered judgment against him for libel, Wilkes fled to France and thereupon was outlawed. Wilkes seemed to have been morally worthless but he had attractive manners and could "abate and dissolve a pompous gentleman with singular felicity." His cleverness and wit made him a favorite with the people; his prosecution and outlawry made him a popular idol. With royal prerogative overriding the rights of the subject, the "Wilkes and Liberty" excitement largely held the attention of Englishmen in England, and the passage of the stamp act went almost unnoticed. In the contemporary correspondence of English statesmen like Walpole, Grenville, and Pitt, it was hardly mentioned and no one seemed to understand what a train was being laid. Even the agents of the colonies had no suspicion of the coming storm. Benjamin Franklin did not hesitate to mention a friend for appointment as stamp distributor and Richard Henry Lee sought such a place for himself.

1765

Further to carry into effect the ministerial plans for the defense of the colonies, the annual mutiny act of 1765 "authorized the dispatch to the colonies of such troops as might be deemed necessary." For their accommodation, a quartering act was shortly passed, requiring the towns in the several colonies to provide suitable barracks or other quarters, and also to furnish, in certain cases, fire, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, cooking utensils, cider or rum, and wagons.

The Quartering Act

5 George III. cap. 33

The Virginia Resolutions

The passage of the stamp act became known in America in May. The first legislative answer came from the Old Dominion, where Patrick Henry introduced in the house of burgesses a series of resolutions declaring that "the General Assembly of this colony, together with his Majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatever than the General Assembly aforesaid is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty." The resolutions were vigorously opposed and Henry supported them in an eloquent and fiery speech, in the midst of which he exclaimed: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third . . . ["Treason!" cried the speaker. "Treason! Treason!" cried loyal members.] may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." By a close vote, four of the six resolutions were adopted, the last by a majority of only one.

Silver Top of the Mace used in the Virginia House of Burgesses until the Revolution (since then remodeled into a cup)

(Redrawn from copyrighted photograph by permission of Miss Edyth Carter Beveridge)

Treason!

May 30

1765

Aerial Poison

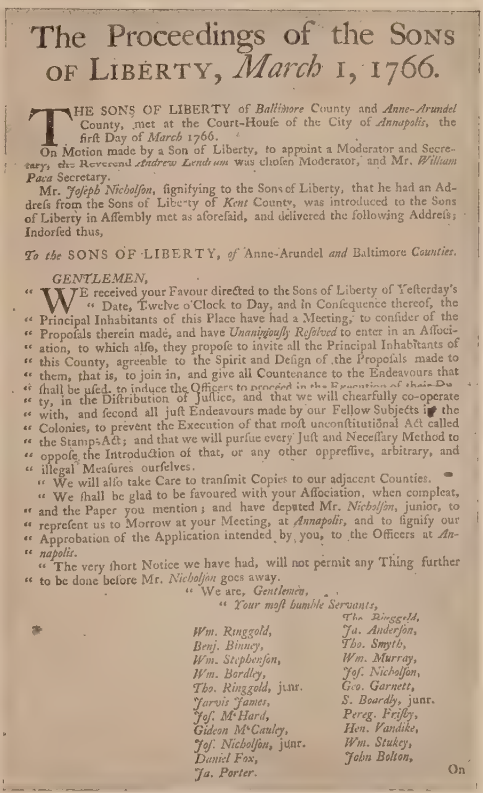
The publication of the Virginia resolutions was the signal for similar action elsewhere; as Governor Bernard aptly said, it "proved an alarm bell to the disaffected." The hard fiber of New England Puritanism was a difficult soil in which to cultivate royal prerogative. "The religion most prevalent in our northern colonies," said Burke later, "is a refinement of the principle of resistance; which is the dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion." May 27 When the general court of Massachusetts met, the house of representatives refused the governor even the cold compliment of a formal answer to his speech; on the eighth of June, it issued a circular letter to the other colonies, proposing the appointment of committees to meet at New York on the first Tuesday in October, "to consult

P Henry

1765

together on the present circumstances of the colonies . . . and to consider of a general and united, dutiful, loyal, and humble representation of their condition to his Majesty and to the parliament, and to implore relief." The first assembly to reply was that of New Jersey, which declared itself "unanimously against uniting on the present occasion;" but the movement gathered headway as the Virginia resolves became known. As the summer of 1765 wore away, public sentiment crystallized and a policy of forcible resistance was begun.

Sons of Liberty



The Proceedings of the SONS OF LIBERTY, *March* 1, 1766.

THE SONS OF LIBERTY of *Baltimore* County and *Anne-Arundel* County, met at the Court-Houſe of the City of *Annapolis*, the firſt Day of *March* 1766.

On Motion made by a Son of Liberty, to appoint a Moderator and Secretary, the Reverend *Andrew Lendrum* was choſen Moderator, and Mr. *William Paca* Secretary.

Mr. *Joſeph Nicholſon*, ſignifying to the Sons of Liberty, that he had an Addreſs from the Sons of Liberty of *Kent* County, was introduced to the Sons of Liberty in Aſſembly met as aforeſaid, and delivered the following Addreſs; Indorſed thus,

To the SONS OF LIBERTY, *of* Anne-Arundel *and* Baltimore *Counties.*

GENTLEMEN,

"WE received your Favour directed to the Sons of Liberty of Yeſterday's " Date, Twelve o'Clock to Day, and in Conſequence thereof, the " Principal Inhabitants of this Place have had a Meeting, to conſider of the " Propoſals therein made, and have *Unaniniouſly Reſolved* to enter in an Aſſoci- " ation, to which alſo, they propoſe to invite all the Principal Inhabitants of " this County, agreeable to the Spirit and Deſign of the Propoſals made to " them, that is, to join in, and give all Countenance to the Endeavours that " ſhall be uſed, to induce the Officers to proceed in the Execution of their Du- " ty, in the Diſtribution of Juſtice, and that we will chearfully co-operate " with, and ſecond all juſt Endeavours made by our Fellow Subjects in the " Colonies, to prevent the Execution of that moſt unconſtitutional Act called " the Stamp-Act; and that we will purſue every Juſt and Neceſſary Method to " oppoſe the Introduction of that, or any other oppreſſive, arbitrary, and " illegal Meaſures ourſelves.

" We will alſo take Care to tranſmit Copies to our adjacent Counties.

" We ſhall be glad to be favoured with your Aſſociation, when compleat, " and the Paper you mention; and have deputed Mr. *Nicholſon*, junior, to " repreſent us to Morrow at your Meeting, at *Annapolis*, and to ſignify our " Approbation of the Application intended by you, to the Officers at *An-* " *napolis.*

" The very ſhort Notice we have had, will not permit any Thing further " to be done before Mr. *Nicholſon* goes away.

" We are, *Gentlemen*,
" *Your moſt humble Servants*,

Tho. Ringgold,
Wm. Ringgold,
Benj. Binney,
Wm. Stephenſon,
Wm. Bordley,
Tho. Ringgold, junr.
Jarvis James,
Joſ. McHard,
Gideon McCauley,
Joſ. Nicholſon, junr.
Daniel Fox,
Ja. Porter.
Ja. Anderſon,
Tho. Smyth,
Wm. Murray,
Joſ. Nicholſon,
Geo. Garnett,
S. Boardly, junr.
Pereg. Friſby,
Hen. Vandike,
Wm. Stukey,
John Bolton,

On

Broadside issued by the Maryland Sons of Liberty

In his speech against the stamp act, Barré had spoken of the Americans as "sons of liberty" who could defend their rights. The expression was sent over sea, aided in fanning the fire into flame, and became the favorite designation for voluntary associations that were organized, chiefly in New England and New York, for the purpose of intimidating the stamp distributors and preventing the

1765 execution of the stamp act. The leaders of the Sons of Liberty were generally men of local prominence, but, in more cases than one, the membership included disorderly and lawless persons who cared nothing for the principles at issue, who could not feel the burden of the act even if it was enforced, and who had nothing to lose from the destruction of property and the open defiance of law. The influential classes refrained from active participation, but they did little to check the disorders and apparently were willing that mob rule should frustrate the purpose of parliament.

In the Sacred Name of Liberty

Among the distributors was Andrew Oliver of Massachusetts. On the fourteenth of August, he was hanged in effigy, between figures of Bute and Grenville, on the "Liberty Tree," a large elm that served as a rallying place for the Sons of Liberty of Boston. In the evening, a mob, shouting "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" tore down an unfinished building said to be intended as an office for the stamp distributor, and burned Oliver's effigy before the door of the helpless official. The next morning, Oliver publicly signed a pledge not to act as stamp distributor. Even these indignities did not spare him, for, on the day of the opening of parliament in December, he was compelled to march to the Liberty Tree and take an oath that he would not attempt to collect the stamp duties. On the twenty-sixth of August, the mansion of Chief-justice Hutchinson was looted, his plate and money were carried off, his valuable library and private papers thrown into the street, and himself and his family insulted and threatened with personal injury. Of all the violent scenes that marked the eve of the Revolution, this attack on Hutchinson was the most disgraceful. The Boston town-meeting expressed "abhorrence" of these proceedings, and voted that the selectmen and magistrates be desired to suppress like disorders in the future; but the rioters went unpunished.

Resignation

Lawless or law-abiding, the resistance was general and effective. In New Hampshire, the stamp distributor resigned rather than to stand the rising storm. In

James Otis

O Partridge

Tim Ruggles

MASSACHUSETTS

Eliph Dyer

Wm Saml. Johnson

David Rowland

CONNECTICUT

M Bowler.

Henry Ward

RHODE ISLAND

Robt R Livingston

Wm Bayard

Leonard Lispenard

John Cruger

Phil. Livingston

NEW YORK

John Dickinson

John Morton

Geo. Bryan

PENNSYLVANIA

Autographs of the Twenty-eight Dele

(Jacob Kollock, who had been a delegate from Delaware, on account

Collected from various original documents in

Robert Ogden

Hendk. Fisher

Jo: Borden

NEW JERSEY

Tho M:Kean

aesar Rodney

acob Kollock

DELAWARE

Wm Murdock

E Tilghman

Th Ringgold

MARYLAND

Th. Lynch

Chris Gadsden

J: Rutledge

SOUTH CAROLINA

Jno. Cotton

CLERK

s APPOINTED TO THE STAMP-ACT CONGRESS

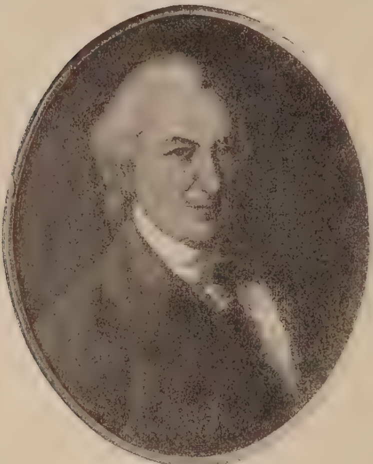
ge, infirmity, and local duties, was not present at the Congress at all)

ew York Public Library (Emmet Collection)

Rhode Island, the attorney-general, Augustus Johnston, who had been appointed distributor, hastened to announce that he would not "execute his office against the will of our sovereign lord, the people;" but, further to strengthen his good resolution, the populace dragged his effigy about the streets of Newport on a hurdle, and publicly hanged and burned it. Johnston prudently fled to an English armed vessel in the harbor. In Connecticut, Israel Putnam called on Governor Fitch to let him know the feeling of the people and to warn him that, if he refused admittance to the Sons of Liberty who were coming to destroy the stamps, his house would be pulled down in less than five minutes. Jared Ingersoll, persisting for a time in his determination to discharge the duties of distributor, was met by a crowd at Wethersfield, signed the proffered resignation, and, being escorted to Hartford, read the resignation before the assembly. The distributors in New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia resigned. At Philadelphia, John Hughes, a friend of Franklin, gave in his resignation at the demand of a mob. Although the demonstrations were less violent in other colonies than in Massachusetts, the arrival of the stamps and attempts to put the act into operation were everywhere the signal for outbreaks.

The Stamp-act Congress

On the seventh of October, the stamp-act congress assembled in the old city hall at New York, the headquarters of General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Lieutenant-governor Colden was determined to execute the stamp act, but he did not dare to interfere with the proceedings of the congress. Nine colonies — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina — were represented by twenty-seven delegates variously appointed. Twenty-eight had been chosen; the absentee was Jacob Kollock, speaker of the Delaware assembly. Kollock, an old man, probably was detained by his physical infirmities, for he died in 1772, "in the 80th year of his age, after a long and tedious illness." From New Hampshire, Virginia,



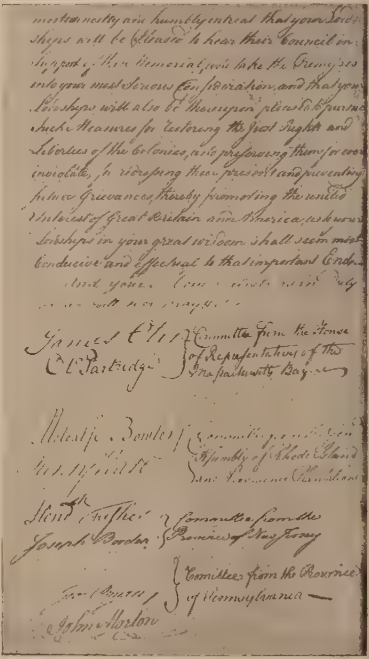
John Dickinson

1765

North Carolina, and Georgia came unofficial messages of encouragement. Before the end of the session, a messenger arrived from Georgia to obtain a copy of the proceedings. On the roll of delegates are found the names of some of the most distinguished Americans of the time. Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen speaker, and James Otis became the leading spirit. Notwithstanding the great difference in area and population, the colonies stood "without the least claim of pre-eminence one over the other;" and it was agreed that each should have one vote.

Its Work

The conclusions of the congress were embodied in four papers; a declaration of rights and grievances, a petition to the king, a memorial and petition to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The first two of these state papers were drafted by John Dickinson, a delegate from Pennsylvania, whose later distinguished services in like capacities earned him the title of the



most earnestly and humbly intreat that your Lordships will be pleased to hear their Council in Support of this Memorial, and take the Premises into your most serious Consideration, and that your Lordships will also be thereupon pleased to pursue such Measures for restoring the just Rights and Liberties of the Colonies, and preserving them for ever inviolate, for redressing their present and preventing future Grievances, thereby promoting the united Interest of Great Britain and America, which your Lordships in your great wisdom shall seem most conducive and effectual to that important End.
And your [illegible] Duty
[illegible] pray.

James Otis } Committee from the House
Oliver Partridge } of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay

Metcalf Bowler } Committee [illegible]
Henry Ward } Assembly of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations

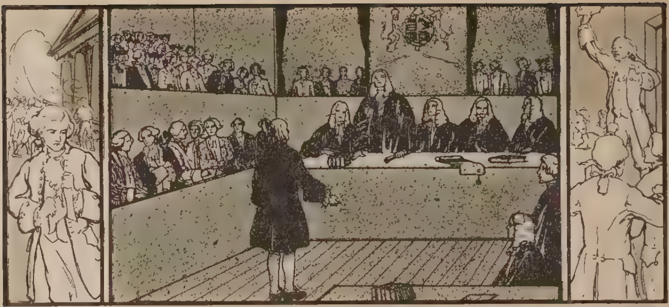
Hendk Fisher } Committee from the
Joseph Borden } Province of New Jersey

Jno Dickinson } Committee from the Province
John Morton } of Pennsylvania —

Last Page of the Petition to the House of Lords "penman of the Revolution." Ruggles, the speaker, refused to sign the declaration, for which he was later censured by the Massachusetts house of representatives. The congress adjourned on the twenty-fifth of October. 1765

Its Resolutions

Of the four papers, the declaration of rights and grievances, as the first authoritative statement of the case for the colonies, is the most important. It proclaims the duty of colonial allegiance to the crown of Great Britain; claims, as "the undoubted rights of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent," and asks for the repeal of the stamp act, "and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce." The text of this document is printed in the appendix to this volume. From the ground therein taken, no advance was made until 1776.



CHAPTER IV

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT —THE MASON—DIXON LINE

Internal and External Taxation

IT will be convenient at this point to examine briefly the claims of the colonies as set forth in the resolutions of the stamp-act congress, in order to see exactly for what privileges the colonial leaders were contending. The only thing that was arraigned as unwarranted in law was the stamp act, and this for the reason that the act was an attempt to tax the colonies through a body in which they were not and could not be represented. The authority of parliament to legislate in regard to the trade of the colonies was not denied, although the new regulations were objected to as grievous burdens, certain to work disaster to American industry and to impoverish the people. When, however, parliament sought to step into a colony and to lay taxes upon its property or its internal business, the right of Englishmen to be represented in that body was affirmed as an ancient and inalienable privilege that might not be infringed.

The Difference Between Them

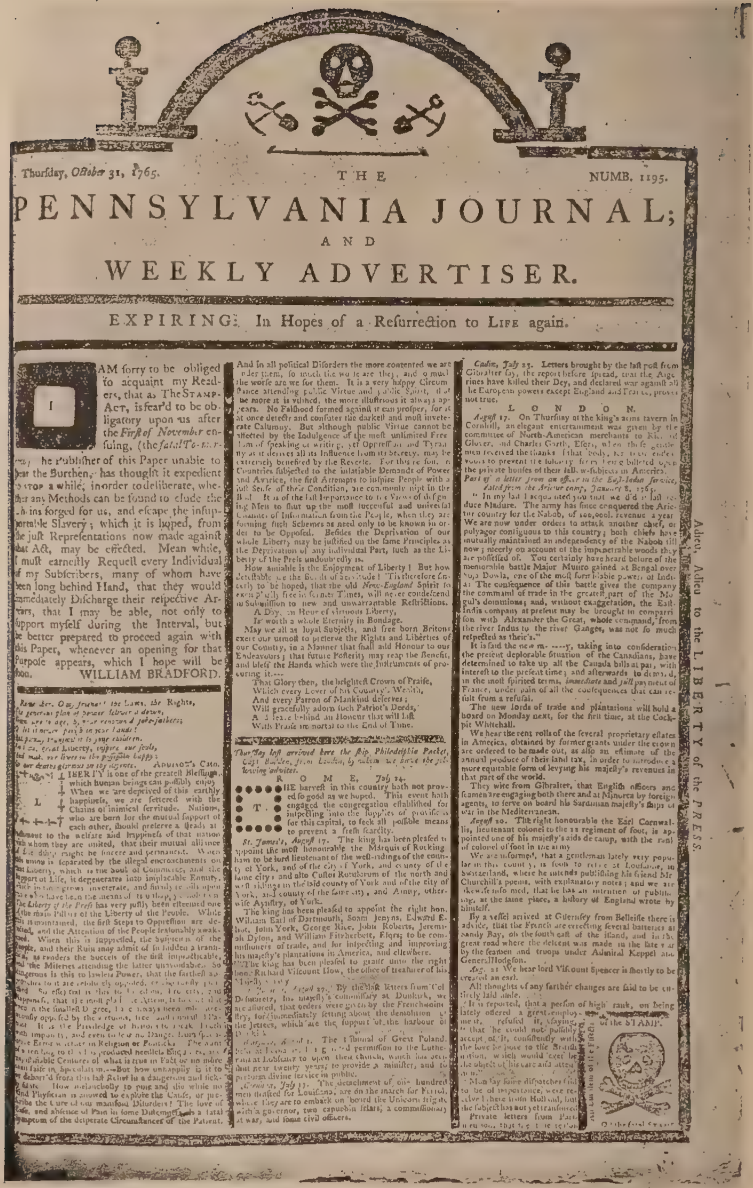
We have here the alleged distinction between internal and external taxation of which a good deal was heard in the discussions that preceded the Revolution. According to this theory, parliament, in pursuance of its general legislative authority over the whole empire, might regulate the trade of the colonies, but might not tax their internal transactions or property. Trade regulation might, of course, take the form of import or export duties, port charges, or other similar exactions; but so long as the main purpose was regulation and not revenue—as had been the case with the navigation acts—the principle of "no taxation without representation" was not violated, even though some revenue was incidentally produced. But when a tax was laid for the express purpose of raising a revenue the case was different; for here the colonists themselves were entitled to a voice. As matters stood, that voice could be raised only in the colonial assemblies, for representation in parliament could hardly be regarded as feasible with that body three thousand miles away. It was true that parliamentary representation in England at this time was grossly inequitable, large masses of the people having no representatives at all in the house of commons; but that did not alter either the legal or the political theory, or impair the time-honored and hard-won right of the people as a whole to determine, through their representatives, how their money should be spent.

An Ill-founded Distinction

It is clear enough now, as it was clear to some in both England and America then, that the colonial contention was not wholly sound. The alleged distinction between internal and external taxation certainly had no foundation in law or political science, however much the legislation of parliament may have seemed to recognize it. The main question was as to the right of parliament to tax the colonies at all, not as to the right to tax them in this way or that way. That parliament had complete legislative control of the colonies, in internal as well as external matters, was the matured opinion of the best English and American lawyers. The practical question, however, was not of abstract right, but of expediency. The fatal mistake of George III. and his subservient ministers was in attempting to maintain a right the assertion of which could have no other effect than to irritate the colonies and to incite them to resistance. The legal pretensions of the Americans were ill founded, but the conduct of Great Britain was impolitic to the point of madness.

An Inoperative Act

The stamp act was to go into effect on the first of November, 1765. In the colonies, the day was marked



Thurſday, October 31, 1765. THE NUMB. 1195.

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL; AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Reſurrection to LIFE again.

I AM ſorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as The STAMP-ACT, is fear'd to be obligatory upon us after the *Firſt of November* enſuing, (the *fatal To-morrow*) the Publiſher of this Paper unable to bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to STOP a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and eſcape the inſupportable Slavery; which it is hoped, from the juſt Repreſentations now made againſt that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I muſt earneſtly Requeſt every Individual of my Subſcribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Diſcharge their reſpective Arrears, that I may be able, not only to ſupport myſelf during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpoſe appears, which I hope will be ſoon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

Remember, O my friends! the Laws, the Rights,
The gen'rous plan of power deliver'd down,
From age to age, by your renown'd fore-fathers;
O let it never periſh in your hands!
But piouſly tranſmit it to your children.
Do thou, great Liberty, inſpire our ſouls,
And make our lives in thy poſſeſſion happy:
Or our deaths glorious in thy juſt defence.
ADDISON's Cato.

LIBERTY is one of the greateſt Bleſſings which human beings can poſſibly enjoy. When we are deprived of this earthly happineſs, we are fettered with the Chains of inimical ſervitude. Nations, who are born for the mutual ſupport of each other, ſhould preſerve a ſteady attachment to the welfare and happineſs of that nation with whom they are united, that their mutual alliance and friendſhip might be ſincere and permanent. When this union is ſeparated by the illegal encroachments on that Liberty, which is the Soul of Commerce, and the Support of Life, it degenerates into implacable Enmity, which in time grows inveterate, and finally recoils upon those who have been the means of its unhappy [illegible]. *The Liberty of the Preſs* has very juſtly been eſteemed one of the main Pillars of the Liberty of the People. While this is maintained, the firſt Steps to Oppreſſion are detected, and the Attention of the People ſeaſonably awakened. When this is ſuppreſſed, the Suſpicions of the People, and their Ruin may admit of ſo ſudden a tranſition, as renders the Succeſs of the firſt impracticable, and the Miſeries attending the latter unavoidable. So dangerous is this to lawleſs Power, that the fartheſt approaches to it are reſolutely oppoſed, or [illegible]. So eſſential is this to [illegible], and happineſs, that the moſt plauſible Attempts to curtail it in the ſmalleſt Degree, have always been moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the virtuous, free and impartial Patriot. It is the Priviledge of honour to ſpeak Truth with impunity, and even to fear no Danger from ſpeaking the Errors whether in Religion or Politicks. The want of attending to this has produced needleſs Bigotries, and unjuſtifiable Cenſures of what is true in Fact or no more than falſe in Speculation.---But how unhappy is it to be debarr'd from this laſt Relief in a dangerous and ſickly State. How melancholy to pine and die while no kind Phyſician is allowed to explore the Cauſe, or preſcribe the Cure of our manifold Diſorders! The love of Eaſe, and abſence of Pain in ſome Diſtempers, is a fatal Symptom of the deſperate Circumſtances of the Patient. And in all political Diſorders the more contented we are under them, ſo much the worſe are they, and ſo much the worſe are we for them. It is a very happy Circumſtance attending public Virtue and public Spirit, that the more it is vilified, the more illuſtrious it always appears. No Falſhood formed againſt it can proſper, for it at once detects and confutes the darkeſt and moſt inveterate Calumny. But although public Virtue cannot be affected by the Indulgence of the moſt unlimited Freedom of ſpeaking or writing, yet Oppreſſion and Tyranny as it derives all its Influence from its Secrecy, may be extremely benefited by the Reverſe. For this reaſon, in Countries ſubjected to the inſatiable Demands of Power and Avarice, the firſt Attempts to inſpire People with a juſt Senſe of their Condition, are commonly nipt in the Bud. It is of the laſt Importance to the Views of deſigning Men to ſhut up the moſt ſucceſsful and univerſal Channel of Information from the People, when they are forming ſuch Schemes as need only to be known in order to be Oppoſed. Beſides the Deprivation of our whole Liberty may be juſtified on the ſame Principles as the Deprivation of any individual Part, ſuch as the Liberty of the Preſs undoubtedly is.

How amiable is the Enjoyment of Liberty! But how deteſtable are the Bonds of Servitude! 'Tis therefore ſincerely to be hoped, that the old *New-England* Spirit ſo exemplarily free in former Times, will never condeſcend to Submiſſion to new and unwarrantable Reſtrictions.

A Day, an Hour of virtuous Liberty,
Is worth a whole Eternity in Bondage.

May we all as loyal Subjects, and free born Britons exert our utmoſt to preſerve the Rights and Liberties of our Country, in a Manner that ſhall add Honour to our Endeavours; that future Poſterity may reap the Benefit, and bleſs the Hands which were the Inſtruments of procuring it.---

That Glory then, the brighteſt Crown of Praiſe,
Which every Lover of his Country's Wealth,
And every Patron of Mankind deſerves;
Will gracefully adorn ſuch Patriot's Deeds,
And leave behind an Honour that will laſt
With Praiſe immortal to the End of Time.

Thurſday laſt arrived here the ſhip Philadelphia Packet, Capt. Budden, from London, by whom we have the following advices.

R O M E, *July* 24.

THE harveſt in this country hath not proved ſo good as we hoped. This event hath engaged the congregation eſtabliſhed for inſpecting into the ſupplies of proviſions for this capital, to ſeek all poſſible means to prevent a freſh ſcarcity.

St. James's, Auguſt 17. The king has been pleaſed to appoint the moſt honourable the Marquis of Rockingham to be lord lieutenant of the weſt-ridings of the county of York, and of the city of York, and county of the ſame city; and alſo Cuſtos Rotulorum of the north and weſt ridings in the ſaid county of York and of the city of York, and county of the ſame city, and Ainſty, otherwiſe Aynſtry, of York.

The king has been pleaſed to appoint the right hon. William Earl of Dartmouth, Soam Jenyns, Edward Eliot, John York, George Rice, John Roberts, Jeremiah Dyſon, and William Fitzherbert, Eſqrs; to be commiſſioners of trade, and for inſpecting and improving his majeſty's plantations in America, and elſewhere.

The king has been pleaſed to grant unto the right hon. Richard Viſcount How, the office of treaſurer of his Majeſty's navy.

[illegible] *Auguſt* 27. By the laſt letters from Col Deſmaretz, his majeſty's commiſſary at Dunkirk, we are aſſured, that orders were given by the French miniſtry, for immediately ſetting about the demolition of the Jettees, which are the ſupport of the harbour of Dunkirk.

[illegible] The Tribunal of Great Poland [illegible] permiſſion to the Lutherans at Loblentz to open their church, which has been ſhut near twenty years; to provide a miniſter, and to perform divine ſervice in public.

Corunna, July 17. The detachment of one hundred men draſted for Louiſiana, are on the march for Ferrol, where they are to embark on board the Unicorn frigate with a governor, two capuchin friars, a commiſſionary at war, and ſome civil officers.

Cadiz, July 23. Letters brought by the laſt poſt from Gibralter ſay, the report before ſpread, that the Algerines have killed their Dey, and declared war againſt all the European powers except England and France, proves not true.

L O N D O N.

Auguſt 17. On Thurſday at the king's arms tavern in Cornhill, an elegant entertainment was given by the committee of North-American merchants to Richard Glover, and Charles Garth, Eſqrs, when theſe gentlemen received the thanks of that body, for their endeavours to prevent the ſoldiery from being billeted upon the private houſes of their fellow-ſubjects in America.

Part of a letter from an officer in the Eaſt-India ſervice, dated from the Aricur camp, January 8, 1765.

"In my laſt I acquainted you that we did at laſt reduce Madure. The army has ſince conquered the Aricur country for the Nabob, of 100,000l. revenue a year We are now under orders to attack another chief, or polyagor contiguous to this country; both chiefs have mutually maintained an independency of the Nabob till now; merely on account of the impenetrable woods they are poſſeſſed of. You certainly have heard before of the memorable battle Major Munro gained at Bengal over Suja Dowla, one of the moſt formidable powers of India: The conſequence of this battle gives the company the command of trade in the greateſt part of the Mogul's dominions; and, without exaggeration, the Eaſt-India company at preſent may be brought in compariſon with Alexander the Great, whoſe command, from the river Indus to the river Ganges, was not ſo much reſpected as their's."

It is ſaid the new m----y, taking into conſideration the preſent deplorable ſituation of the Canadians, have determined to take up all the Canada bills at par, with intereſt to the preſent time; and afterwards to demand, in the moſt ſpirited terms, *immediate* and *full* payment of France, under pain of all the conſequences that can reſult from a refuſal.

The new lords of trade and plantations will hold a board on Monday next, for the firſt time, at the Cockpit Whitehall.

We hear the rent rolls of the ſeveral proprietary eſtates in America, obtained by former grants under the crown are ordered to be made out, as alſo an eſtimate of the annual produce of their land tax, in order to introduce a more equitable form of levying his majeſty's revenues in that part of the world.

They write from Gibralter, that Engliſh officers and ſeamen are engaging both there and at Minorca by foreign agents, to ſerve on board his Sardinian majeſty's ſhips of war in the Mediterranean.

Auguſt 20. The right honourable the Earl Cornwallis, lieutenant colonel to the 33 regiment of foot, is appointed one of his majeſty's aids de camp, with the rank of colonel of foot in the army

We are informed, that a gentleman lately very popular in this country, is ſoon to retire at Lauſanne, in Switzerland, where he intends publiſhing his friend Mr Churchill's poems, with explanatory notes; and we are likewiſe informed, that he has an intention of publiſhing, at the ſame place, a hiſtory of England wrote by himſelf.

By a veſſel arrived at Guernſey from Belleiſle there is advice, that the French are erecting ſeveral batteries at Sandy Bay, on the ſouth eaſt of the iſland, and in the great road where the deſcent was made in the late war by the ſeamen and troops under Admiral Keppel and General Hodgſon.

Aug. 21 We hear lord Viſcount Spencer is ſhortly to be created an earl.

All thoughts of any farther changes are ſaid to be entirely laid aſide.

It is reported, that a perſon of high rank, on being lately offered a great employment, refuſed it, ſaying, "that he could not poſſibly accept of it, conſiſtently with the love he bore to the Britiſh nation, which would ever be the object of his care and attention."

Monday ſome diſpatches ſaid to be of importance, were received here from Holland, but the ſubject has not yet tranſpired.

Private letters from Paris [illegible]

[illegible] of the STAMP.

An Emblem of the Effects

O! the fatal STAMP

Adieu, Adieu to the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

FIRST PAGE OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER,"
ISSUE OF OCTOBER 31, 1765
(From an original in the New York Public Library, Emmet Collection)

by the closing of shops and the tolling of bells, and by mock funeral processions followed in some cases by riot and disorder. In New York, the people gathered about the fort and demanded the surrender of the stamps. Governor Colden was burned in effigy and compelled to leave the stamps with the city officials for safe-keeping. The stamps intended for Connecticut were taken from a vessel and burned. In Rhode Island, Governor Ward refused to take the oath to carry out the provisions of the act, the only one of the colonial governors thus to resist. Governor Fitch of Connecticut did take the oath and, in consequence, failed of reëlection. Similar demonstrations were made in other colonies. "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" was the popular cry. When the first of November arrived, no stamps were to be had. After a few weeks of uncertainty and hesitation, business was resumed much as before. The stamp act did not become operative in any of what we call the thirteen colonies except South Carolina and Georgia, and it was not long-continued there.

A Non-importation Agreement

Early in November, some of the leading citizens of New York, headed by Isaac Sears, formed a committee of correspondence. Its members agreed to sign all letters with their several names and to open a correspondence with all the colonies. Philadelphia was relied upon to forward letters to the South, and Boston to forward letters to New Hampshire. As a tangible form of protest against the obnoxious acts, an agreement not to import any more British goods until the stamp act was repealed was also made. Later, a non-consumption agreement was added, and orders already sent to England were countermanded. Similar agreements were subsequently made in Boston and elsewhere and coercive measures became popular. Further to show that the Americans could live without stamps, patriots agreed to encourage American manufactures, to use American cloth, and to increase the supply of wool by giving up the eating of mutton.

October 28, 1767

Meantime, there had been a change of ministry in

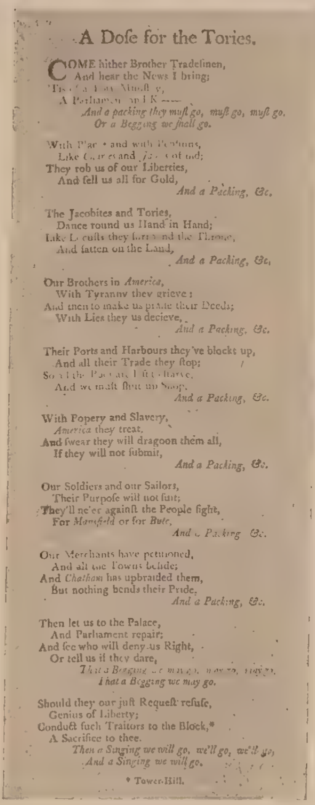
The Rockingham Ministry

Great Britain. When Grenville took office, in April, 1763, the Whig party was divided into three groups. The largest part, comprising those who had followed the duke of Newcastle, now accepted the leadership of Rockingham and further distinguished themselves by abandoning the bribery and corruption through which Newcastle had controlled the government. A second group followed the duke of Bedford and let it be known that they could be bought as a body, but not individually. The third faction followed Grenville. Grenville had quarrelled with Pitt whom the king hated, and had supported Bute whom the king liked; naturally enough, when Newcastle resigned, the king chose Grenville as the prime minister. The good feeling between the king and the premier was, however, of short duration, ill will being bred by the disrespect of Grenville and intensified by the failing mental powers of the king. In July, 1765, Grenville gave way to Rockingham. Conway, who had opposed the stamp act, and the duke of Grafton were the new secretaries of state. The ministry was weak; Townshend called it a "lutestring administration, fit only for summer wear." Pitt, the ablest man then in public life, refused to take office, having no more respect for the Rockingham Whigs than had the king himself. The change promised well for the colonies, however, and doubtless encouraged them in their resistance to the stamp act.

English Opinion

October 24

Reports of the violent proceedings in America reached England some weeks before the opening of parliament. Conway, in a circular letter to the governors, urged them to "do their utmost to maintain law and order," and to that end authorized them to "call upon the military and naval commanders, if necessary." Public opinion in England was divided. The land tax of four shillings in the pound was yielding a revenue of about two million pounds sterling per annum, but Grenville had given assurances that, by the end of two years after the close of the war, the tax should be reduced to three shillings. The landed proprietors, restless under the continued tax, demanded the enforcement of the stamp act. On the other hand, the commercial and manufacturing towns, alarmed at the loss of trade resultant from the colonial policy of non-intercourse, wished the act repealed. In the Rockingham ministry there was division of opinion. The prime minister, says Bancroft, "declared himself ready to repeal a hundred stamp acts rather than run the risk of such confusion as would be caused by enforcing one." Yet, on the twelfth of December, a committee of merchants was told that "the right to tax Americans could never be given up" and that "a suspension of the act was the most that could be expected."



A Doſe for the Tories.

COME hither Brother Tradeſmen,
And hear the News I bring;
[illegible]
A Parliament and K——
And a packing they muſt go, muſt go, muſt go.
Or a Begging we ſhall go.

With [illegible] and with [illegible],
Like [illegible] and [illegible];
They rob us of our Liberties,
And ſell us all for Gold,
And a Packing, &c.

The Jacobites and Tories,
Dance round us Hand in Hand;
Like [illegible] they [illegible] the Throne,
And fatten on the Land,
And a Packing, &c.

Our Brothers in *America*,
With Tyranny they grieve:
And then to make us praiſe their Deeds;
With Lies they us decieve,
And a Packing, &c.

Their Ports and Harbours they've blockt up,
And all their Trade they ſtop;
[illegible]
And we muſt ſhut up Shop.
And a Packing, &c.

With Popery and Slavery,
America they treat,
And ſwear they will dragoon them all,
If they will not ſubmit,
And a Packing, &c.

Our Soldiers and our Sailors,
Their Purpoſe will not ſuit;
They'll ne'er againſt the People fight,
For *Manſfield* or for *Bute*,
And a Packing &c.

Our Merchants have petitioned,
And all the Towns beſide;
And *Chatham* has upbraided them,
But nothing bends their Pride.
And a Packing, &c.

Then let us to the Palace,
And Parliament repair;
And ſee who will deny us Right,
Or tell us if they dare,
[illegible]
That a Begging we may go.

Should they our juſt Requeſt refuſe,
Genius of Liberty;
Conduct ſuch Traitors to the Block,*
A Sacrifice to thee.
Then a Singing we will go, we'll go, we'll go,
And a Singing we will go.

* Tower-Hill.

Broadside of Verses: "A Dose for the Tories"

In Parliament

Parliament assembled on the seventeenth of December. The news from America as submitted by Secretary Conway was alarming. Grenville moved an address to the king, hoping thereby to secure an immediate consideration of American affairs, for which he knew the ministry was not prepared. The subject was laid over, however, until after the holidays. Parliament reassembled on the fourteenth of January, 1766. On the seventeenth, petitions urging the repeal of the stamp act were presented from the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, and other trading and manufacturing towns, and from Virginia and Georgia. The debate on the address to the king was stormy. The ministry had asked

The Petitions of the Merchants

1766 for confidence. Pitt, who appeared in the house of commons after an absence of a year, turned to them with a courteous smile and said: "Pardon me, gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom, youth is the season of credulity." Calling attention to the fact that when the stamp act was passed, he was ill in bed, he declared that, in his opinion, Great Britain had no right to lay a tax on the colonies without their consent. The Americans "are the subjects of this kingdom—equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen—and equally bound by its laws. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. . . . There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? . . . The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man; it does not deserve a serious refutation!"

The Speech of William Pitt

Burke, Conway, and Grenville

In this debate, Edmund Burke, who had just entered parliament, made his maiden speech. Conway, the ministerial leader in the house, declared his agreement with the opinions expressed by the "great commoner," and forecast the action of the ministry by declaring that "such were the sentiments also of most, if not of all, the king's servants." Grenville followed with an elaborate and masterly defense of his own policy, denying that taxation and representation went together and affirming, with an obvious allusion to Pitt, that "the seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purpose of opposition."

Pitt for Repeal

The rules of the house of commons forbade a member to speak twice in the same debate, but Pitt, stung by Grenville's insinuation, sprang to his feet, and the house, accepting his pretext that he intended only to offer an omitted portion of his former speech, allowed him to go on. "The gentleman tells us," he exclaimed, "America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. . . . Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme, . . . but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade. . . . The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. . . . They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? . . . I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. It is that the stamp act be *repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately*. . . . At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their *trade*, confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The Examination of Franklin, January 28

Benjamin Franklin, who had been laboring earnestly to bring about a repeal or modification of the stamp act, was interrogated at the bar of the house of commons in regard to conditions in the colonies. Franklin's high repute as a scientist and man of letters gave him great influence among the cultivated classes in England, while his position as deputy postmaster-general for North America lent official weight to his words. To the question, "Do you think it right America should be protected by this country, and pay us no part of the expense?" Franklin answered, "That is not the case. The colonies raised, clothed, and paid, during the last war, near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions." "Were you not reimbursed by parliament?" "We were reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might be reasonably expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent." "Do not you think the people of America would submit

1766 to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?" "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms." "If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the right of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?" "No, never." "Is there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?" "None that I know of; they will never do it unless compelled by force of arms."

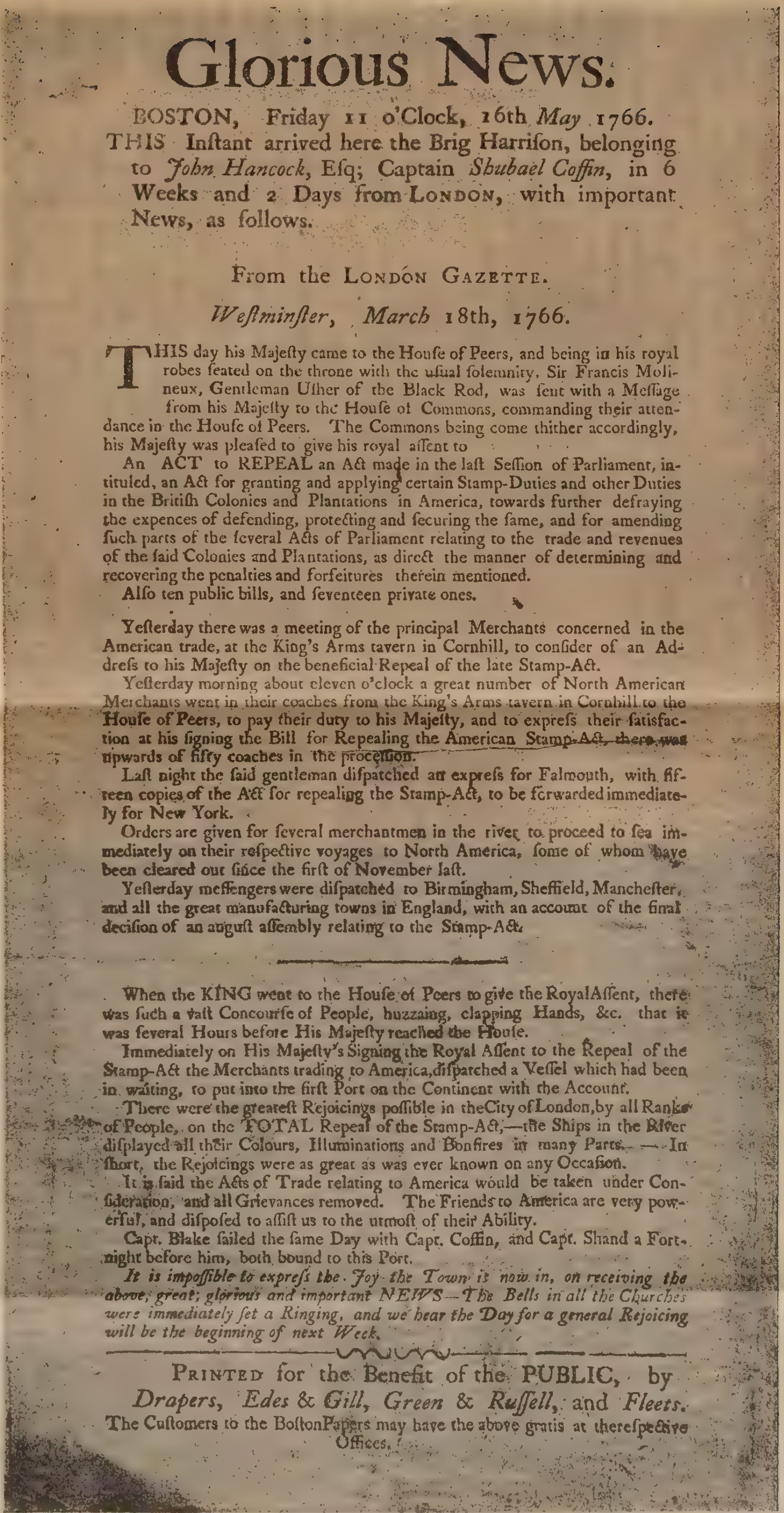
The Stamp Act Repealed

The withdrawal of the stamp act was inevitable. Early in February, the house of lords, by a narrow majority, declared in favor of the execution of the act, but a similar proposition in the commons was buried under an adverse vote of more than two to one. On the twelfth, the king let it be known that he would approve a modification of the act. But it was out of the question to modify it; the act must stand or fall as it was. On the fourth of March, a repeal bill passed the lower house. In spite of violent opposition, it passed the house of lords on the seventeenth and received royal assent on the following day. The stamp act had been on the statute book a little less than one year, and nominally in force less than five months.

6 George III. cap. 11

A Declaratory Act

With the act of repeal went a short statute regarding the legislative authority of parliament over the colonies. "Whereas"—so runs this declaratory act—"several of the houses of representatives in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, have of late, against law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in the said colonies and plantations; and have, in pursuance of such claim, passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders, derogatory to the legislative authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency of the said colonies and plantations upon the crown of Great Britain; . . . be it declared . . . That the said colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the King's



Glorious News.

BOSTON, Friday 11 o'Clock, 16th *May* 1766.
THIS Inſtant arrived here the Brig Harriſon, belonging to *John Hancock*, Eſq; Captain *Shubael Coffin*, in 6 Weeks and 2 Days from LONDON, with important News, as follows.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Weſtminſter, *March* 18th, 1766.

THIS day his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and being in his royal robes ſeated on the throne with the uſual ſolemnity, Sir Francis Molineux, Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod, was ſent with a Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, commanding their attendance in the Houſe of Peers. The Commons being come thither accordingly, his Majeſty was pleaſed to give his royal aſſent to

An ACT to REPEAL an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, intituled, an Act for granting and applying certain Stamp-Duties and other Duties in the Britiſh Colonies and Plantations in America, towards further defraying the expences of defending, protecting and ſecuring the ſame, and for amending ſuch parts of the ſeveral Acts of Parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the ſaid Colonies and Plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned.

Alſo ten public bills, and ſeventeen private ones.

Yeſterday there was a meeting of the principal Merchants concerned in the American trade, at the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill, to conſider of an Addreſs to his Majeſty on the beneficial Repeal of the late Stamp-Act.

Yeſterday morning about eleven o'clock a great number of North American Merchants went in their coaches from the King's Arms tavern in Cornhill to the Houſe of Peers, to pay their duty to his Majeſty, and to expreſs their ſatisfaction at his ſigning the Bill for Repealing the American Stamp-Act, there was upwards of fifty coaches in the proceſſion.

Laſt night the ſaid gentleman diſpatched an expreſs for Falmouth, with fifteen copies of the Act for repealing the Stamp-Act, to be forwarded immediately for New York.

Orders are given for ſeveral merchantmen in the river to proceed to ſea immediately on their reſpective voyages to North America, ſome of whom have been cleared out ſince the firſt of November laſt.

Yeſterday meſſengers were diſpatched to Birmingham, Sheffield, Mancheſter, and all the great manufacturing towns in England, with an account of the final deciſion of an auguſt aſſembly relating to the Stamp-Act.

When the KING went to the Houſe of Peers to give the Royal Aſſent, there was ſuch a vaſt Concourſe of People, huzzaing, clapping Hands, &c. that it was ſeveral Hours before His Majeſty reached the Houſe.

Immediately on His Majeſty's Signing the Royal Aſſent to the Repeal of the Stamp-Act the Merchants trading to America, diſpatched a Veſſel which had been in waiting, to put into the firſt Port on the Continent with the Account.

There were the greateſt Rejoicings poſſible in the City of London, by all Ranks of People, on the TOTAL Repeal of the Stamp-Act,—the Ships in the River diſplayed all their Colours, Illuminations and Bonfires in many Parts.—In ſhort, the Rejoicings were as great as was ever known on any Occaſion.

It is ſaid the Acts of Trade relating to America would be taken under Conſideration, and all Grievances removed. The Friends to America are very powerful, and diſpoſed to aſſiſt us to the utmoſt of their Ability.

Capt. Blake ſailed the ſame Day with Capt. Coffin, and Capt. Shand a Fortnight before him, both bound to this Port.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the Joy the Town is now in, on receiving the above, great, glorious and important NEWS—The Bells in all the Churches were immediately ſet a Ringing, and we hear the Day for a general Rejoicing will be the beginning of next Week.

PRINTED for the Benefit of the PUBLIC, by
Drapers, *Edes* & *Gill*, *Green* & *Ruſſell*, and *Fleets*.
The Cuſtomers to the Boſton Papers may have the above gratis at the reſpective Offices.

BROADSIDE ANNOUNCING THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT

From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society

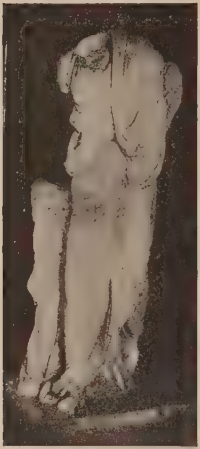
majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, *in all cases whatsoever*."

Conway's Instructions

In communicating to the colonial governors information of the repeal of the stamp act and the passage of the declaratory act, Conway expressed the hope that "the moderation, the forbearance, the unexampled lenity and tenderness of Parliament towards the colonies" which the action "so signally displayed" would dispose the colonies "to that return of cheerful obedience to the Laws and Legislative authority of Great Britain, and to those sentiments of respectful gratitude to the Mother Country, which are the natural, and, I trust, will be the certain effects of so much grace and condescention." The governors were urged to recommend strongly to the assemblies that, as a fitting way of showing the restoration of good feeling, "full and ample compensation be made to those who, from the Madness of the people, have suffered for their deference to Acts of the British Legislature;" while the governors themselves were to be "particularly attentive that such persons be effectually secured from any further insults." The suggestion of the secretary of state was promptly acted upon in New York, where royalist sentiment was strong. The Massachusetts legislature caused the governor more trouble; although it yielded in the end, it insisted upon including in its act a free pardon to the rioters. The conduct of Massachusetts made a bad impression in England and tended to strengthen rather than allay the feeling of suspicion and dislike with which the colony was regarded.

Colonial Happiness

The news of the repeal was received with joy on both sides of the ocean. Burke described the repeal as "an event that caused more universal joy throughout the British dominions than any other that can be remembered;" and, eight years later, declared that "so sudden



Fragment of the Statue of William Pitt in New York

Large Lantern that hung on the Liberty Tree at the illumination in honor of the Repeal of the Stamp Act

1766 a calm after so violent a storm is without a parallel in history." Mercantile and manufacturing England hoped for the abandonment of the non-importation agreements and a revival of colonial trade and business prosperity. In America, joy was unbounded and loyalty burst forth afresh. Statues to George III. were voted in Virginia and New York, the latter colony adding a similar honor to Pitt. Maryland also voted a statue to Pitt and ordered a portrait of Lord Camden. Portraits of Barré and Conway were hung in Faneuil Hall. In New York, the rejoicing citizens erected a

George III.

Queen Charlotte

1766

liberty pole and, in hogsheads of punch, drank to the health of the king. In Philadelphia, the king's birthday was celebrated by the Quakers in new suits of British manufacture, the old homespun garments being given to the poor. "As, in 1765, through the bond of a common fear, the thirteen colonies had been brought for the first time into some sort of union, so in 1766, that union was for a while prolonged through the bond of a common joy."

A Questionable Victory

Just what had been accomplished by a year of agitation was a matter to which few Americans then gave much thought. The stamp act had been repealed, but the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever" had been for the first time asserted. Opinion differed as to the legal justification of the declaratory act. "My position is this," said Lord Camden in the house of lords, "I repeat it; I will maintain it to the last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. The position is founded in the law of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature." Pitt, on the other hand, while urging the repeal of the stamp act, had announced the doctrine of the declaratory resolve; yet Pitt was honored by statues and by resolutions of thanks. Filled with rejoicing at the abandonment of the hated tax and convinced that parliament had bowed before their united resistance, the Americans ignored the declaration with which the repeal had been accompanied as little more than a formal pronouncement to save the dignity of parliament. Lecky, the English historian, says that "the Americans had in truth won a great victory, which inspired them with unbounded confidence in their strength. They had gone through all the excitement of a violent and brilliantly successful political campaign; they had realized for a time the union which appeared formerly so chimerical; they had found their natural leaders in the struggle, and had discovered the weakness of the mother country."

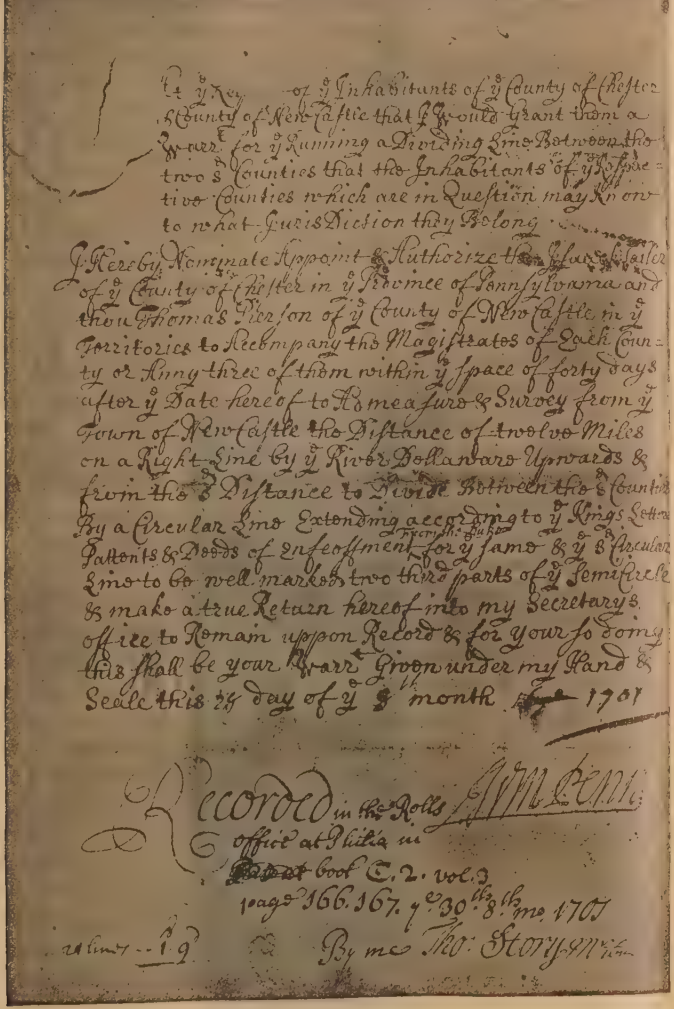
The story of the earlier phases of the long-continued contest over the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line has been told in the second and third volumes of this history, but the quarrel was still open and was complicated by troubles that pertained to the boundaries of Delaware. In 1701, William Penn commissioned Isaac Taylor and Thomas Pierson to run the arc of the twelve mile circle as the boundary between the counties of Chester and New Castle. The surveyors used a radius of nearly thirteen miles instead of twelve. In 1732, there was an agreement upon an east and west line across the peninsula between Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean; a part of this line was to be the southern boundary of Delaware. From the middle of this base line was to be drawn a line tangent to the famous circular arc drawn twelve miles from New Castle; this line was to be the western boundary of Delaware. From this point of tangency a line was to be run due north until it cut a line drawn due west from a point fifteen miles south of the most southerly part of Philadelphia. The point of the intersection of this meridian and this parallel was to be the northeast corner of Maryland. From this point, the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line was to be run due west. All of this might be easily done upon parchment but the attempt to fix the lines in the disputed territory led to serious difficulties and protracted litigation. In 1760, a new deed was executed, substantially the same as that of 1732. In accordance with the agreement, commissioners were appointed, surveyors were employed, and the work of fixing the boundaries was begun. After three years of crude work, the surveyors suspended their labors and the proprietors employed two skilled mathematicians to assist the commissioners.

The Northeast Corner of Maryland

October, 1763

Mason and Dixon's Line

The experts thus engaged were two Englishmen, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. They landed at Philadelphia on the fifteenth of November, 1763, and for the next four years were engaged in running the line that still bears their names, a line the name of which was for fifty years oftener in men's mouths than that of any other "line, real or imaginary, on the surface of the earth —not excepting even the equator and the equinoctial."



[illegible] ye Req[illegible] of ye Inhabitants of ye County of Chester & County of New Castle that I would Grant them a Warrt for ye Running a Dividing Line Between the two sd Counties that the Inhabitants of ye Respective Counties which are in Question may Know to what Jurisdiction they Belong

I Hereby Nominate Appoint & Authorize the [illegible] of ye County of Chester in ye Province of Pennsylvania and thou Thomas Pierson of ye County of New Castle in ye Territories to Accompany the Magistrates of Each County or Any three of them within ye space of forty days after ye Date hereof to Remeasure & Survey from ye Town of New Castle the Distance of twelve Miles on a Right Line by ye River Dellaware Upwards & from the sd Distance to Divide Between the sd Counties By a Circular Line Extending according to ye Kings Letters Pattents & Deeds of Enfeoffment from the Duke for ye same & ye sd Circular Line to be well marked two third parts of ye Semicircle & make a true Return hereof into my Secretarys office to Remain uppon Record & for your so doing this shall be your Warrt Given under my Hand & Seale this 28 day of ye 8th month 1701

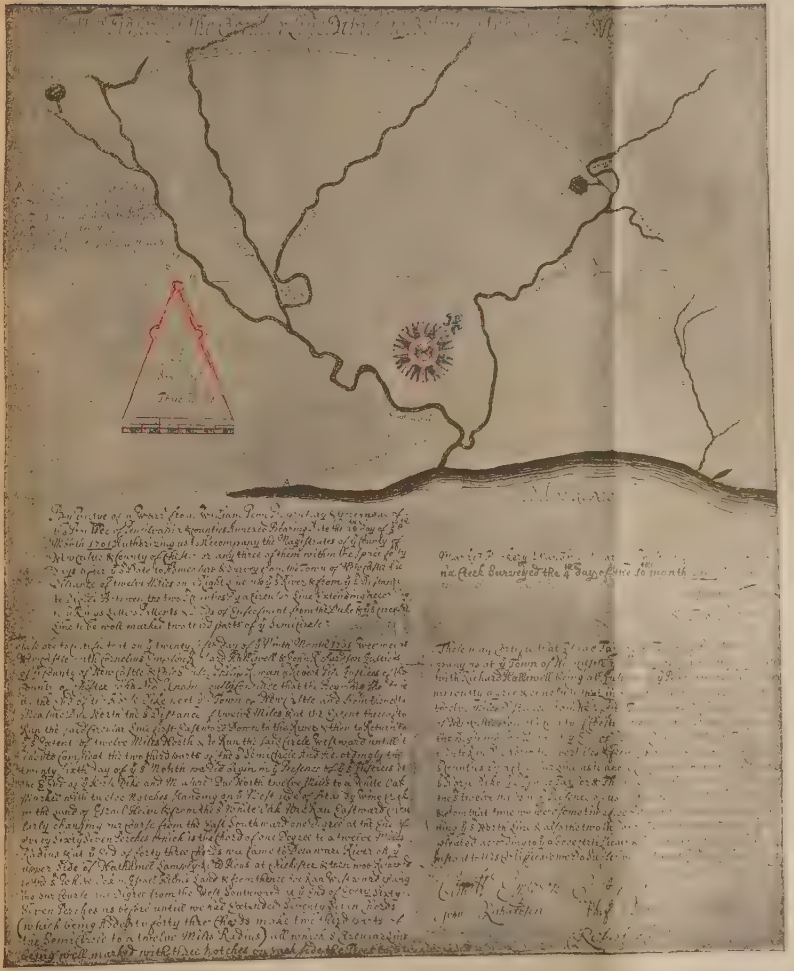
Wm Penn

Recorded in the Rolls office at Phila in ~~Patent~~ book C. 2. vol. 3 page 166. 167. ye 30th 8th mo 1701

[illegible] -- 1. 9 By me Tho: Story Mr Rolls

Penn's Order for the Survey of the Circular Boundary between the Counties of Chester (Pennsylvania) and New Castle (now Delaware)

From original in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society



Report of the Commission Appointed by Penn to Survey the Pennsylvania Boundary

From original in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society

They ran the tangential line between Maryland and Delaware but they stretched the twelve mile radius from the New Castle court-house more than a hundred feet and thus shaved a thin slice from the domain that had been given to Lord Baltimore. They also placed their main parallel more than four hundred feet too far south and thus gave Pennsylvania more than nine thousand acres that belonged to Maryland. As the line was run, a "visto" eight yards wide was cut through the forest. At intervals of a mile, the line was marked with stones that bore the letter M marked on the southern face and the letter P on the face opposite, excepting that every fifth stone had carved thereon the arms of the respective proprietors. After they had run the westward line to within about thirty-six miles of its western end at the meridian prescribed by the Pennsylvania charter, they were peremptorily stopped by the Six Nations; they then returned to Philadelphia and received honorable discharges. The rest of the line was run by other parties.

1763

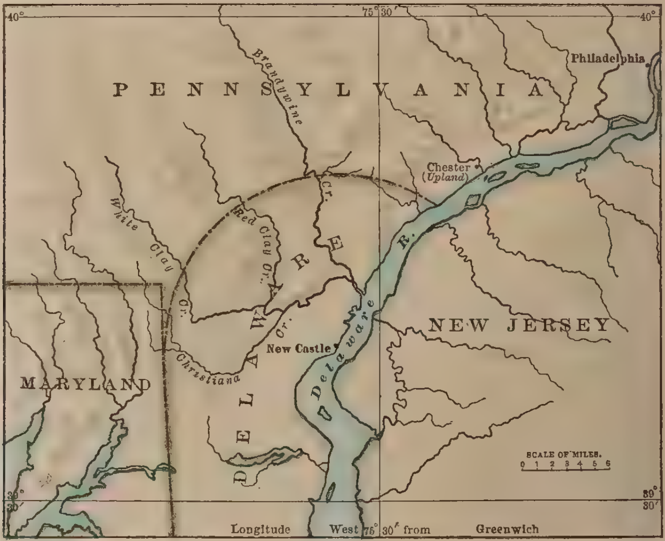
1767

December 26, 1767

The work done by Mason and Dixon brought to an end the long dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland concerning their boundary, but it did not fix the boundary between Pennsylvania and her lower counties. When, at the beginning of the Revolution, Delaware became an independent state, her northern boundary was the inaccurate line surveyed by Taylor and Pierson in 1701. This line had not been surveyed by Mason and Dixon, it had never been properly marked, parts of it were lost, and local tradition assumed that Pennsylvania territory did not extend south of the north-

The Flatiron

One of the Stones marking the Pennsylvania and Maryland Boundary east corner of Maryland, which was locally regarded as the meeting point of the three states. The result was



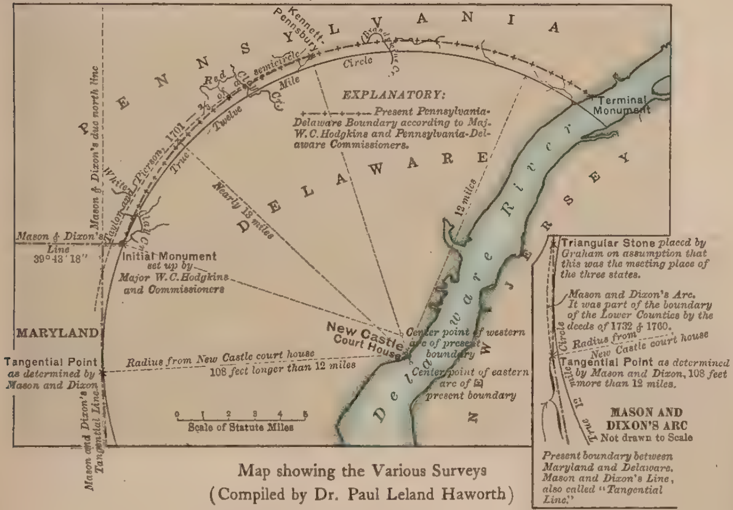
The Topography of the Region

that land titles in the section called the "Flatiron"—a strip so thin at its southern end that "the ball of one's foot may be in Maryland, and the heel in Delaware, while the instep forms an arch over a portion of the Keystone State"—were recorded in Delaware in which state the inhabitants voted and paid taxes.

Looking Forward

In 1849, Colonel J. D. Graham of the United States topographical engineers, acting under the auspices of a joint commission composed of representatives from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, restored the stone that had disappeared from the northeast corner of Maryland, then regarded as marking a point common to the three states. He also placed new granite posts at the tangent point, at the middle point of the arc north of the tangent point, and at the point where this arc as laid out by Mason and Dixon cut the due-north line. This last

mentioned point he assumed was the true junction of the 1849
three states, entirely ignoring the line of 1701. This 1892
arrangement was not approved by the Delaware legislature; the maps still "showed Pennsylvania reaching a slender finger to the southward between Delaware and Maryland, but Delaware continued to exercise complete jurisdiction over that area." Thus the situation continued until 1889, when Delaware and Pennsylvania appointed commissioners to adjust the boundary. As the old line drawn by Taylor and Pierson had been lost, and as no single circle could be made to satisfy the conditions imposed, a compound curve such as appears upon the accompanying map was laid out by Major W. C. Hodgkins of the United States coast survey in 1892. The Pennsylvania commissioners agreed to prolong the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland eastward to the circular boundary and to surrender the "Flatiron" to Delaware. From the northeast corner of Maryland to Delaware Bay the Hodgkins line was marked with stone monuments placed at short intervals. This line was ratified by the Pennsylvania


PENNSYLVANIA
Kennett
Pennsbury
Brandywine
Circle
Red Clay Cr.
semicircle
of a
2/3
Twelve Mile Circle
1701
Taylor and Pierson
True
White Clay Cr.
Mason & Dixon's due north line
Mason & Dixon's Line 39° 43′ 18″
EXPLANATORY:
Present Pennsylvania-Delaware Boundary according to Maj. W. C. Hodgkins and Pennsylvania-Delaware Commissioners.
DELAWARE
Nearly 18 miles
12 miles
Terminal Monument
Delaware River
NEW JERSEY
Initial Monument set up by Major W. C. Hodgkins and Commissioners
MARYLAND
Tangential Point as determined by Mason and Dixon
Radius from New Castle court house 108 feet longer than 12 miles
New Castle Court House
Center point of western arc of present boundary
Center point of eastern arc of present boundary
0 1 2 3 4 5
Scale of Statute Miles
Mason and Dixon's Tangential Line
Triangular Stone placed by Graham on assumption that this was the meeting place of the three states.
Mason and Dixon's Arc. It was part of the boundary of the Lower Counties by the deeds of 1732 & 1760.
Radius from New Castle court house
Circle
Tangential Point as determined by Mason and Dixon, 108 feet more than 12 miles.
True 12 mile
MASON AND DIXON'S ARC
Not drawn to Scale
Present boundary between Maryland and Delaware. Mason and Dixon's Line, also called "Tangential Line."

Map showing the Various Surveys
(Compiled by Dr. Paul Leland Haworth)

1908 legislature, but thus far no such action has been taken by the Delaware legislature or by congress. Meanwhile, Delaware continues to exercise jurisdiction over the "Flatiron."

CHAPTER V

THE TOWNSHEND ACTS

An Incomplete Victory

THANKS to colonial resistance, the stamp act had proved to be only a menace; it was not enforced and had been repealed. But no decisive victory over parliament had been won. The labored distinction between external and internal taxes lifted little more than the threatening shadow and left the hated substance. With the exception of the sugar act, all of the navigation and trade laws were in force as fully as ever, their underlying principle had been formally asserted, and the ministry was about to address itself to the embodiment of the principle of parliamentary right in a new form.

Massachusetts Sullen

The enforcement of the trade laws meant diminished profits for Boston merchants. Not only were vessels and cargoes seized and condemned, but the governor shared in the profits of forfeiture. Bernard's official conduct, accordingly, became a subject of suspicion. When the general court convened, the governor mingled congratulations on the repeal of the stamp act with references to "the fury of the people." Not until December did the legislature grant compensation to those who had suffered in the stamp-act riots, and the grant was accompanied with an assurance to the governor that it was of their own "free and good will" and not from "deference to a requisition" and with a general pardon for the offenders.

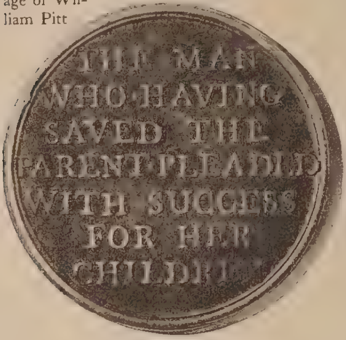
May, 1766

In August, 1766, Pitt was elevated to the peerage with the title of earl of Chatham—a step that seriously

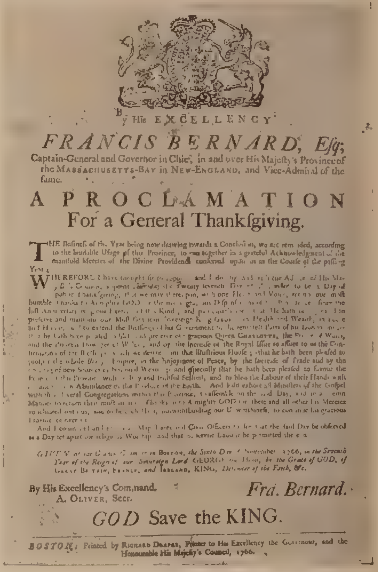
1766

The Shrinkage of William Pitt

weakened his influence and popularity in both England and America. Lord Chesterfield could not understand why he was willing to "go into that hospital of incurables, the House of Lords," and characterized the change as a "fall up stairs—a fall which did Pitt so much damage that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again." Early in the same month, Pitt became the nominal head of the ministry. With him in the cabinet were the duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, Townshend, Conway, and the earl of Shelburne—an unstable balancing of coercive and conciliatory forces, and, as Burke later said, "a very curious show but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand upon." To Shelburne, as one of the secretaries of state, fell the administration of colonial affairs. In March, 1767, Pitt's health broke down and the direction of the ministry devolved upon Grafton who was too weak to direct anything



Pitt Medal



By His EXCELLENCY

FRANCIS BERNARD, Esq;

Captain-General and Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY in NEW-ENGLAND, and Vice-Admiral of the same.

A PROCLAMATION
For a General Thanksgiving.

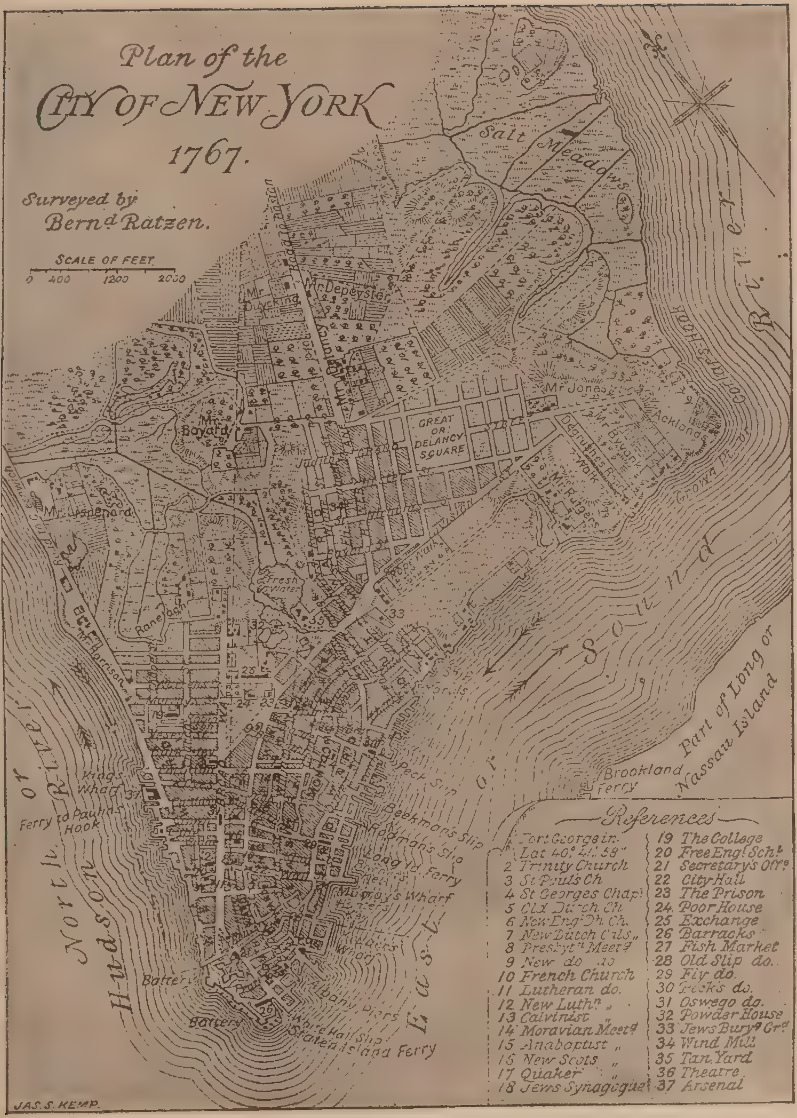
By His Excellency's Command,
A. OLIVER, Secr.

Fra. Bernard.

GOD Save the KING.

BOSTON: Printed by RICHARD DRAPER, Printer to His Excellency the Governour, and the Honourable His Majesty's Council, 1766.

Bernard's Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 6, 1766



New York in 1767

and soon passed completely under the sway of the brilliant but erratic Townshend.

Royal Troops in Boston

In the fall of 1766, several companies of royal artillery arrived at Boston and were quartered during the winter by direction of the governor and council—the occasion of a remonstrance from the general court because of the alleged unwarranted expenditure of public money. British soldiers in that day were allowed a degree of license that would not be tolerated now. At this time, they seem to have exercised commendable judgment and restraint, but their presence was an offense to the people of the colonies and a provocative of violence. To make bad matters worse, the old idea of the establishment of an Anglican episcopate in America was revived.

In New York

The experience of New York was especially bitter. In June, 1766, Sir Henry Moore, who in the preceding November had arrived as governor, informed the house of assembly that troops would soon arrive and urged that provision be made for their accommodation. The house excused its non-compliance on the grounds of expense, the uncertain number of troops to be provided for, and the "unprecedented" articles required to be furnished, but finally appropriated for the purpose an unexpended balance of nearly four thousand pounds that was in the treasury subject to the order of the commander-in-chief of the forces in America. To this the governor assented, but Secretary Shelburne refused his approval. As the house would not comply fully with the terms of the quartering act, the assembly was prorogued in December. In June, 1767, by act of parliament, the assembly was suspended until such time as it should obey the law. It was dissolved in February, 1768, and its successor in the following January. In 1769, the assembly yielded. The coercion was the most arbitrary step that had yet been taken by parliament or crown. Pownall, late governor of Massachusetts, declared in parliament that "there is not a province, a colony, or a plantation that will submit to a tax thus imposed, more than New York will."

7 George III. cap. 59

In 1767, Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the measures now known by his name. The reasons for the acts are to be found in the irritation of public feeling in England over the outcome of the stamp act, the reports of continued agitation and disturbance in America, and the need of additional revenue as a result of the recent reduction of the land tax from four shillings to three shillings in the pound. Townshend, who now dominated the ministry, was a believer in the principle of the stamp act and had pledged himself to find a revenue in the colonies that would at least partly pay the cost of maintaining an army in America.

1767
Townshend's Policy
May 13

The Townshend acts comprised three separate measures. The first provided for the appointment of customs commissioners who should reside in America and to whom the collection of duties should be intrusted. The second act, and the most important, imposed duties on glass, red and white lead, painters' colors, tea, and paper imported into the colonies, allowed a drawback of the duties paid on coffee and cocoa of American production if exported from England, and legalized writs of assistance. The third act removed for five years the land duty of one shilling per pound levied on tea sold in England and allowed a drawback "of the whole of the duty paid upon the importation thereof" into England when the tea was exported to "Ireland and his Majesty's plantations in America." It was expected that this would lower the price so as to enable the East India company, which had a monopoly of the trade, to compete successfully with the smuggled tea that was largely used by the colonists. "It certainly was the prevalent idea that the concessions granted by Parliament permitted the company to sell teas for export to America twenty-five per cent cheaper than those for consumption in England." The Townshend acts became law by the second of July.

The Townshend Acts

7 George III. cap. 56

Townshend, in explaining the bills, professed his purpose to take the Americans at their word by observing the much-prized distinction between external and internal taxation. He repudiated the notion that in law there

The Revenue Act

1767 was any such distinction; but, if the Americans thought that there was one and objected to stamp duties because they were internal taxes, he would raise his revenue by a method the right of which the colonies admitted. There was no concealment of the purpose of this new legislation. The preamble of the revenue act reads: "WHEREAS *it is expedient that a revenue should be raised, in your Majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions.*" As with the stamp duties, the proceeds of the revenue duties, estimated at forty thousand pounds a year, were to be kept separate and used only for the objects specified in the preamble. Townshend's move was a shrewd one and the act seemed likely to be successful.

7 George III. cap. 46

The Death of Townshend

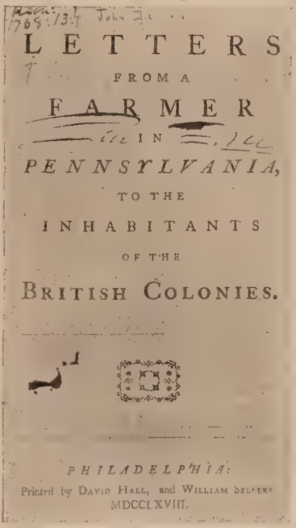
The customs-commissioners act and the tea act went into effect upon their passage, but the duties imposed by the revenue act did not become operative until the twentieth of November. Townshend died on the fourth of September and the carrying out of his policy devolved upon Lord North who succeeded him as chancellor of the exchequer. Chatham's conciliatory policy had no fair trial, and Townshend's coercive measures were pressed with neither unity of purpose nor vigor of execution. With Chatham sick and Townshend dead, it was the fate of England that the control of its colonial affairs was to be, throughout this

Lord North

1767

whole period, in the hands of small-calibre politicians whom the king could dominate.

Letters from a Farmer



[illegible] 1768 : 13 John [illegible]

LETTERS

FROM A

FARMER

IN

PENNSYLVANIA,

TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed by DAVID HALL, and WILLIAM SELLERS

MDCCLXVIII.

Title-page of Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer*

The payment of governors and judges by the crown, as was now proposed, would make them independent of the assemblies and incline them to subserviency to the royal will. The Townshend revenue act, accordingly, struck at what some of the Americans regarded as a constitutional right. The more vital question, however, was that of taxation. The difference between internal and external taxation dropped out of consideration as the colonial leaders advanced to the position that no tax intended to raise a revenue in America could constitutionally be laid by parliament without the consent of the colonies. In a series of papers entitled *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, John Dickinson ably expounded this view, and his words had great influence in molding public thought. In his speech against writs of assistance, Otis had taken the same position; Franklin now accepted the new dogma and had Dickinson's letters reprinted in London.

James Bowdoin's Desk

The General Court of Massachusetts

In November, 1767, two of the new commissioners of customs arrived in Boston; others were already in America. The Massachusetts general

1767 court met on the thirtieth of December. The leading
1768 member of the council was James Bowdoin, of Huguenot descent, the richest man in Boston, and a patriot thoroughly in sympathy with Samuel Adams. In the house, then the largest legislative body in the colonies, James Otis was the recognized leader. Closely associated with Otis were Thomas Cushing, the speaker; Samuel Adams, whose recent entrance into public life has already been noted and who now held the office of clerk of the house; John Hancock, young, wealthy, and popular; and Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, a man of strong religious feelings and decision of character.

John Hancock's Sideboard

The Petition to the King

In his message, Governor Bernard did not mention the Townshend acts, but the offensive measures and the charter of the colony were read in the house and referred to a committee of nine on the state of the province. On the twelfth of January, 1768, a letter to Dennys De Berdt, agent of the colony in England, protesting against the acts was agreed to; it was soon followed by a petition to the king and letters to Shelburne, Rockingham, Chatham, and other prominent persons. The language of the petition to the king was particularly affectionate. It is said that when Adams, its author, finished it, his daughter remarked that the paper would soon be touched by the royal hand. "More likely, my dear, it will be spurned by the royal foot," was the prophetic answer.

The Circular Letter

On the fourth of February, a committee was appointed "to prepare a letter to be sent to each of the Houses of Representatives and Burgesses on the continent, to inform them of the measures which this House has taken with regard to the difficulties arising from the acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes on the American colonists." One week later, the famous circular letter, drafted by Adams, was reported and approved. In temperate but unmistakable language, the letter protested against the latest attempt to tax the people of the colonies without their consent. "It is an essential, unalterable Right in nature, engrafted into the British Constitution as a fundamental Law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the Subjects within the Realm, that what a man has honestly acquird is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but cannot be taken from him without his consent." Accordingly, acts made in England "with the sole and express purpose of raising a Revenue" in the colonies, are "Infringements of their natural and constitutional Rights, since the colonies are not, and, "considering their local circumstances," cannot be, represented in parliament. Further, it was submitted whether governors, judges, and other civil officers, "having salarys appointed for them by the Crown, independent of the people, hath not a tendency to subvert the principles of Equity, and endanger the Happiness and Security of the Subject." Earnest protest was also entered against the quartering act and the dangerous multiplication of officials made possible by the act appointing customs commissioners.

February 11

Still no Talk of Independence

The great object of the circular letter was to secure united action by all the colonies in resistance to the Townshend acts. "An ambition of taking the lead, or dictating to the other Assemblys," was expressly disclaimed, and the hope expressed that the letter "will be candidly considered in no other Light than as expressing a Disposition freely to communicate their mind to a Sister Colony, upon a common Concern, in the same manner as they would be glad to receive the Sentiments of your or any other House of Assembly on the continent." There was no intimation of any desire for independence. The colonists were still loyal subjects of the

1768 British crown, protesting subjects, to be sure, and deeply in earnest in resisting aggression upon their rights; but loyal subjects nevertheless.

The Boston Populace

The anniversary of the repeal of the stamp act was observed in Boston with riotous familiarities with the officers of the crown. In June, John Hancock's sloop "Liberty" was seized with its cargo of uncustomed Madeira wine. In the riot that ensued, the revenue officers were roughly handled, and, with their families, took refuge in the "castle" in the harbor. A town-meeting held in Faneuil Hall adopted an address to Governor Bernard expressing the hope that the customs commissioners, who had "of their own motion" given up their offices and fled to the fort, would never resume their functions, and demanding the removal of the ship-of-war "Romney" from the harbor. The council "passed the customary resolution" expressive of "utter abhorrence and detestation" of the recent violence, but no serious attempt was made to punish the offenders, nor were the commissioners guaranteed protection in case they returned to the town. Although the March incident was almost ludicrous and the "Liberty" episode "hardly worthy of mention," it is obvious that the turbulence of Boston seriously prejudiced the case of the province and made difficult a peaceable redress of grievances.

Castle William

Colonial Responses to the Circular Letter

The Massachusetts circular letter brought warm responses from the other colonies. Virginia, which had lately voted a statue to the king, now "applauded" the Massachusetts house for its "attention to American liberty," drew up petitions to the king and the house of lords and a remonstrance to the commons, and directed the agents of the colony to apply "for redress of the grievances they so justly complain of." The New Jersey house thanked Massachusetts for its action. Connecticut, looking beyond the present difficulties "which are perhaps a prelude to still greater," adopted measures of remonstrance similar to those of Massachusetts. The assembly of Georgia, called to meet the first of June, was prorogued by the governor until November; but Massachusetts was informed that the late house had ordered Franklin, the agent of the colony, to join with the other agents in remonstrating against the recent acts and in soliciting their repeal. The Maryland house declared itself in accord with its New England neighbor. Everywhere in the colonies, men condemned the Townshend measures; in most of the towns, they entered into nonimportation agreements, while colonial dames organized as "Daughters of Liberty" and pledged themselves to homespun cloths and abstinence from tea.

An Angry King

The petition of the Massachusetts house of representatives was ignored by the king; the circular letter, with its suggestion of concerted action in resistance to parliament and crown, threw him into a rage. On the fifteenth of April, the circular letter was submitted to the cabinet by Lord Hillsborough who, in December, had succeeded Shelburne as secretary of state for the colonies. Franklin, who knew Hillsborough, describes him as "a little alert man of business, but passionate and headstrong." With the approval of the king,

The Right Hon. The EARL of HILLSBOROUGH

Hillsborough

1768 April 21 Hillsborough dispatched a circular letter to the governors of the colonies requiring them to use their "utmost influence" to prevent action on the Massachusetts letter by their several assemblies; on the next day, Bernard was instructed to demand that the Massachusetts house rescind its action. In case the house refused, it was to June 18 be dissolved. The governor, sorely troubled, wrote: "I don't know whether I shan't be obliged to act like the captain of a fire-ship—provide for my retreat before I light my fuse. There seems at present a determination to resist Great Britain."

The Illustrious Ninety-two June 21 A few days later, Governor Bernard sent a message to the house communicating the demand of the king "in the very words in which I have received it." When the message had been read a second time, James Otis spoke at length, arraigned the conduct of the ministry with severity, and argued that it was impossible for the new house to rescind a measure of the previous house when that measure had been executed. "When Lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, he should apply to parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britain rescind her measures or the colonies are lost to her forever." For nine days, the house considered the question. The governor closely watched the proceedings and threatened dissolution in case of non-compliance. On the thirtieth, the house went into secret session. A letter to Hillsborough was twice read and adopted. Then they put the question "Whether this House will rescind the resolution of the last House which gave birth to their Circular Letter." The vote was taken by yeas and nays. Only seventeen voted yea; ninety-two voted nay, including several who had usually voted on the side of the administration. An answer to the message of the governor was then adopted. The governor was in session with the council when the special committee appeared with the answer of the house. He immediately summoned the representatives before him, when, says Bernard, "a fracas occurred." One member of the council expostulated "and was so indecent as to appeal to the House.

I silenced him. Another gentleman interrupted. I stopped him also and proceeded to the prorogation." On the following day, the governor dissolved the general court by proclamation. "The Illustrious Ninety-two" became a favorite toast in convivial gatherings.

In the other Colonies

The attempt to prevent action in the other colonies was equally unsuccessful. New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, Virginia, and Georgia had already replied. Punishment could be inflicted, however, and the assemblies of Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia were presently dissolved. The New York assembly, already under the ban for its refusal to obey the quartering act, was again dissolved. Among the prominent members of this assembly were Philip Livingston, George Clinton, and Philip Schuyler. The adherence of these members of old and influential families in the province was of great importance to the patriot cause.

A Threat of Military Coercion

Before news of the March riots in Boston reached England, the ministry had determined to send troops to Massachusetts. On the eleventh of June, Hillsborough wrote to Bernard that at least one regiment was to be stationed in Boston, to garrison, and, if necessary, to repair the castle, and that a frigate, two sloops, and two cutters then in the harbor had been ordered to remain and to support the customs officers. In July, General Gage was directed to send additional troops from New York; two more regiments were soon ordered from Ireland. The threat of military coercion seems to have convinced Samuel Adams that a redress of colonial grievances was no longer to be hoped for and that the only remedy lay in independence. No one knew better than he that the time to declare for independence had not come and that premature action might be fatal; but from the determination to bring about independence he did not afterwards swerve. Boston, indeed, was not easily overawed; it would take more than one or two thousand soldiers to compel obedience to laws the legality and propriety of which were generally denied; and the presence of troops was sure to be a daily reminder that a standing army was a ready tool of tyranny.

Christian Remick's "Perspective View

1768

A Massachusetts Convention September 12 and 13

It was necessary to provide quarters for the troops that were daily expected. A Boston town-meeting petitioned the governor to convoke the general court "with the utmost speed," but this the governor refused to do without orders from the king. Thereupon the town-meeting voted to call a convention of delegates from all the towns in the province, to meet in Boston on the twenty-second of September. It was further resolved "that the inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, maintain and defend their rights, liberties, privileges and immunities;" that money ought not to be raised, nor a standing army kept up, within the province without the consent of the people; that, "*in consequence of prevailing apprehensions of a war with France*," the people ought to provide themselves with arms; and that the ministers should appoint a day of fasting and prayer. Ninety-six towns and eight districts were represented in the convention. The governor refused the petition of the delegates asking him to assemble the general court and forced the convention to a moderate course by a denunciation of it as treasonable. The delegates adopted a petition to the king and a letter to the colony agent, and after several days adjourned.

A Cool Reception

On the day after the adjournment of the convention, seven armed vessels from Halifax, having on board two regiments of about five hundred men each, arrived off Nantasket in the lower harbor. By the terms of the

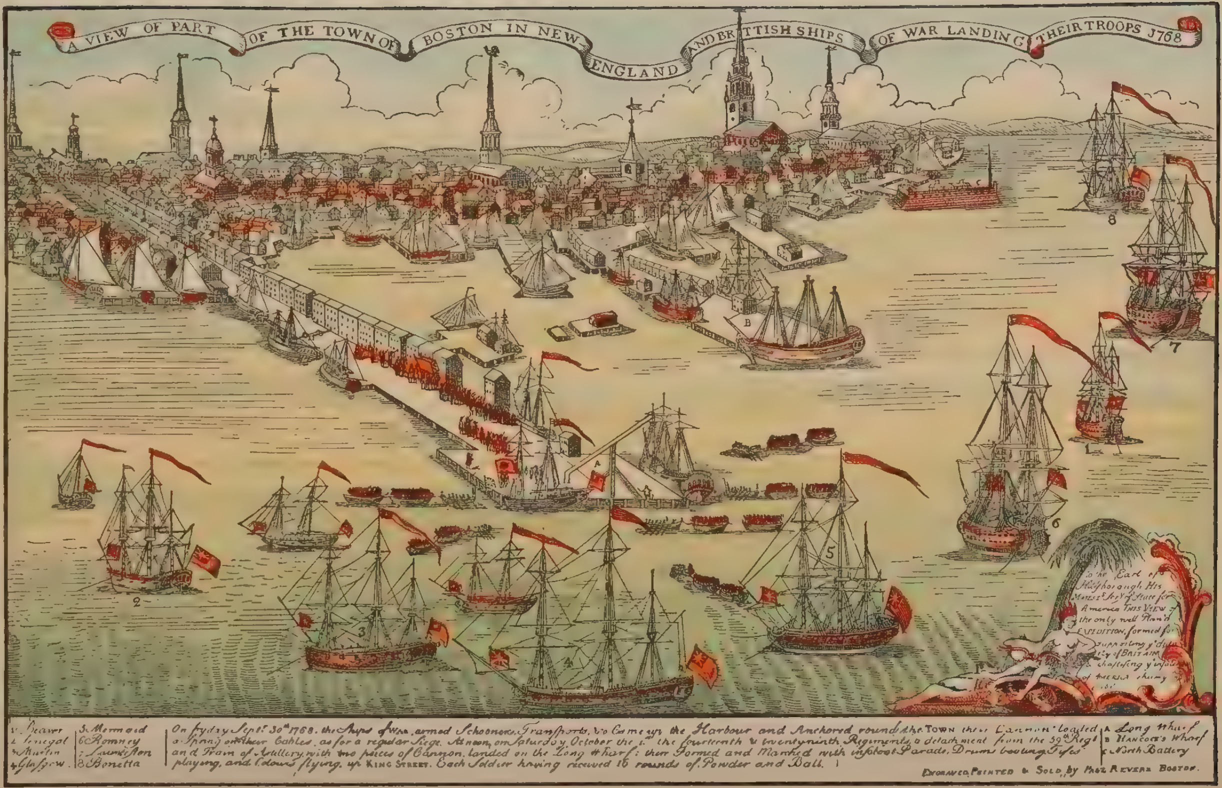
OF THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON," 1768

quartering act, the regular barracks must first be filled before quarters could be demanded elsewhere. Governor Bernard, however, insisted that Castle William, being reserved for the regiments already on the way from Ireland, was constructively full, and his request for quarters in the town was reinforced by General Gage who had sent orders from New York to that effect. The council declined to order the preparation of quarters and threw the responsibility upon the town authorities who, in turn, pointed out that the quartering act devolved the duty upon the justices of the peace. When the troops landed, no accommodations were available and the night was frosty. One of the regiments camped on the Common and the other found shelter in Fanueil Hall and the town-house. General Gage soon came on from New York, but his presence was of no avail and Colonel Dalrymple was finally obliged to hire the needed buildings at exorbitant rents and to purchase supplies at the expense of the crown.

October 1

A Grave Issue

The presence of soldiers, however justifiable in law, was a grievous annoyance to the townspeople. With cannon commanding the Old South meeting-house, opposite the town-house, sentries patrolling the streets, and soldiers drilling and marching, grim tyranny stalked by day and night in the Puritan community. Had the deliberate intention of the ministry been to goad the inhabitants of Boston to violence, nothing could have been better fitted to that end. From this time, the


A VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON IN NEW-ENGLAND AND BRITTISH SHIPS OF WAR LANDING THEIR TROOPS 1768
1
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C
To the Earl of Hillsborough His Majest's Sec.y of State for America THIS VIEW of the only well Plan'd EXPEDITION, formed for supporting y^e dignity of BRITAIN & chastising y^e insolence of America
1 Beaver
2 Senegal
3 Martin
4 Glasgow
5 Mermaid
6 Romney
7 Launceston
8 Bonetta
On Fryday Sept.r 30th 1768, the Ships of War, armed Schooners, Transports, &c Came up the Harbour and Anchored round the TOWN their Cannon loaded a Spring on their Cables, as for a regular Siege. At noon on Saturday October the 1st the fourteenth & twentyninth Regiments, a detachment from the 59th Regt and Train of Artillery, with two pieces of Cannon, landed on the Long Wharf; there Formed and Marched with insolent Parade, Drums beating, Fifes playing, and Colours flying, up KING STREET. Each Soldier having received 16 rounds of Powder and Ball.
A Long Wharf
B Hancock's Wharf
C North Battery
ENGRAVED, PRINTED & SOLD by PAUL REVERE BOSTON.

Paul Revere's View of Boston, 1768

Facsimile of a copy of the original engraving in colors in the collection of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston removal of the troops became an issue of deep personal interest and grave political significance, the steady pursuit of which, for the next eighteen months, gave directness and unity to local and provincial politics. 1768

In Virginia

While Hillsborough was thus browbeating Boston, he was trying to humor and coax Virginia. For three-quarters of a century, the sinecure governors of Virginia had remained in England and governed through a deputy in the colony. But, in 1768, Baron Botetourt, a man of "affable manner and sweet discourse," but whose fortune had been much impaired by gambling, solicited the appointment; and in July of that year he was sent to Virginia to succeed Sir Jeffrey Amherst. He arrived in November with instructions—of course not made public—to impress the colonists with a display of power and dignity and to maintain the principle of parliamentary supremacy, but otherwise to humor the people as circumstances might require. Botetourt succeeded in winning the regard of the province and did not forfeit it when, some months later, he found it necessary to dissolve the assembly; but even his tact and grace could not stem the

Statue of Lord Botetourt standing in front of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia

Botetourt

Autograph of Lord Botetourt

1768 tide of protest and revolt that was already running high in Virginia as in Massachusetts.

America in Revolt

A year's trial of the Townshend acts had not been encouraging to the ministry. Confronted with the duties imposed by the revenue act, the colonial leaders had largely abandoned the untenable distinction between external and internal taxation, and taken their stand on the more solid ground that no form of parliamentary taxation could be accepted so long as the colonies were unrepresented in the imperial legislature; while the conviction that such representation, all things considered, was impracticable led inevitably to the conclusion that the colonies might not be taxed by parliament at all. The attempt to enforce the act had failed, while the activity of the customs officers and the presence of troops had been met, at times by violence, everywhere by stubborn resistance. The New York assembly had been suspended, other assemblies had been dissolved; but the call to union sent forth by Massachusetts had met prompt response, and the colonies were quietly and informally acting in concert. America was in revolt; how far the revolt would spread depended on the attitude of parliament and crown. Would Great Britain recede or would the obedience of the colonies be compelled? Another year was to answer the question.

CHAPTER VI

REPEAL OF THE TOWNSHEND ACTS

Parliamentary Resolves

PARLIAMENT met in November, 1768, and papers relating to the recent disturbances in Massachusetts and to the "Liberty" affair in Boston were laid before both houses. On the fifteenth of December, the house of lords adopted resolutions strongly censuring the proceedings in Massachusetts, upholding the dispatch of troops, and urging that Governor Bernard be directed "to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information that can be obtained touching all treasons, or misprision of treason, committed within his government since the thirtieth of December last, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offenses," to one of the secretaries of state, with a view to the trial of such offenders in England under an old statute of the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. for the trial of treasons committed out of the kingdom. On the ninth of February, 1769, the resolutions were agreed to by the commons. The king, in his answer, thanked the houses for their "strong assurances" of support and promised that he would not "fail to give those orders which you recommend, as the most effectual method of bringing the authors of the late unhappy disorders in that province to condign punishment." The address and answer were ordered to be printed.

The Royal Answer

February 14

The resolutions did not receive the approval of the

1769

Opposition in Parliament

commons without a protest. Burke, Pownall, and Barré led the opposition. "Away with these partial, resentful trifles," exclaimed Barré, "calculated to irritate, not to quell or appease—inadequate to their purpose, unworthy of us! Why will you endeavor to deceive yourselves and us? You know that it is not Massachusetts only that disputes your right, but every part of America. From one end of the continent to the other, they tell you that you have no right to tax them. My sentiments on this matter you well know. Consider well what you are doing. Act openly and honestly. Tell them you *will* tax them, and that they *must* submit. Do not adopt this little, insidious, futile plan. They will despise you for it." Pownall declared his belief that the colonists could not be compelled to obey oppressive laws, but that they would, if forced to it, unite in common resistance and defense. The large majority in parliament sided with the ministry and the English public was in favor of coercion. Franklin wrote that "every man in England regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of *our* subjects in the colonies."

Iron Stove or "Warming Machine" used in the Virginia House of Burgesses

The Virginia Resolutions

The proposition to apply to America a statute that had been passed years before any English colony had been established, and under it to transport to England for trial persons alleged to have resisted the crown in America, aroused the greatest indignation and alarm. The ancient right of trial by "a jury of the vicinage" was threatened. The general assembly of Virginia met on the eleventh of May, 1769, and, on the sixteenth, the house of burgesses adopted resolutions that deserve to stand by the side of the declarations of the stamp-

1769

act congress. The resolutions are printed in the appendix to this volume. Because of their adoption, Governor Botetourt dissolved the assembly. The members, however, met at the Apollo in the Raleigh tavern, and, under the lead of Peyton Randolph, speaker of the late house, united in a non-importation agreement. Among the names affixed to this agreement are those of Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington. The resolutions were transmitted to the other colonies, where they were generally approved and in some cases adopted entire.

Persistent Middlesex

It will be remembered that John Wilkes had been expelled from the house of commons in 1764 for his criticism of the king's speech, had been convicted of libel in the court of king's bench, and had fled to France. Chatham retired from the ministry in 1768. In that year, Wilkes suddenly returned from exile and was elected to the house of commons from Middlesex. "His election was a token of a widespread dissatisfaction, not so much with the taxation of America as with the corruption by which the king had won parliament to his side." In February, 1769, the commons again expelled him, but he was promptly reëlected. Thereupon the house, by a vote of two hundred and thirty-five to eighty-nine, again expelled him and declared him incapable of holding a seat in the existing parliament. On the sixteenth of March, he was again elected from Middlesex, but the next day the election was declared void by the house. On the thirteenth of April, Wilkes was returned for the fourth time and by a vote of nearly four to one. The house, however, seated his opponent.

John Wilkes

Autograph of Wilkes

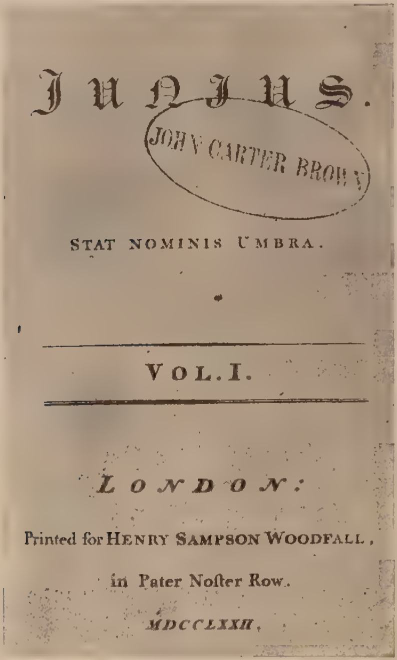
The "Junius" Letters

The gravity of the constitutional issue thus raised in England was not lost sight of by the people. There was no doubt that the commons could expel a member for any cause that seemed to them sufficient, but Chatham, Grenville, and the Rockingham Whigs denied the right

1769

A London Mob

of the house to deprive the electors of the right of voting for whomsoever they pleased, or to give a seat to a candidate who was clearly not the choice of the voters. Grafton's weak and vacillating ministry began to totter to its fall. To add to the difficulties of the court party, an anonymous writer, in a series of letters signed "Junius," bitterly attacked the king and his ministers, while the mob raised the cry of "Wilkes and liberty." Wilkes surrendered himself in June for a trial on the old charge of libel and was fined and imprisoned. A mob that attempted to rescue him was fired upon by troops and a number of persons were killed. While Wilkes was still a prisoner, the citizens of London chose him to the office of alderman of the city. The ministry and commons had transformed a worthless demagogue into a martyr. Of course, these stirring events in England had their effect upon men who, in America, were resisting encroachments upon their liberties.



JUNIUS.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

STAT NOMINIS UMBRA.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL,

in Pater Noſter Row.

MDCCLXXII.

Title-page of *Junius*

Boston Petitions for the Removal of the Troops

April 8

The Boston town-meeting in March, 1769, petitioned the king to remove the troops and earnestly protested against the charges of disorder and disloyalty made against the town and its people. The petition, with a letter from Samuel Adams, was forwarded to Barré with the request that he would, in person, present it to the king. In April, the command of the troops in Boston devolved upon Alexander Mackay, colonel of the sixty-fifth regiment and a member of parliament. Mackay soon went to England, leaving the command to Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple.

Free Representatives and Military Duress

The Massachusetts general court met at the end of May. Boston was garrisoned by royal troops and two cannons commanded the approach to what is now the old state house, where the sessions of the court were held. A committee of the house of representatives was promptly appointed to ask for the removal of the soldiers. "An armament by sea and land investing this metropolis," they declared, "and a military guard with cannon pointed at the door of the state house where the assembly is held, are inconsistent with that dignity and freedom with which they have a right to deliberate, consult, and determine. They expect that your excellency will, as his majesty's representative, give effectual orders for the removal of the above-mentioned forces by sea and land out of this port

View of the Old State House, Boston, 1791, from Washington Street

1769 and the gates of this city during the session of the said assembly." The governor replied curtly that he had no authority over the ships or the troops. On the thirteenth of June, the house responded that, "by the principles of the constitution, the governor of this colony has the absolute military command; that the sending a military force here, to enforce the execution of the laws, is inconsistent with the nature of government and the spirit of a free constitution. This military force is uncontrollable by any authority in the province; it is then a power without any check here, and therefore it is so far absolute. What privilege! what security then is left to this house?"

A Resolute Legislature

In the meantime, the house had proceeded to the election of councilors and had dropped a number of the old members, including Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Bernard, alleging that the excluded members were persons "who shewed a disposition to support the king's government, to acknowledge the authority of parliament, and to preserve the people from a democratical despotism," negatived the choice of eleven of the new members. As the house refused to do business while the troops remained, the governor adjourned the general court to Cambridge where there was no garrison. Of course, the court protested. When, on the twenty-eighth of June, the governor informed them that the king had summoned him to England to report on the state of the province, the house replied that they "cheerfully acquiesced in the command of their sovereign for his return to Great Britain," petitioned the king for his removal, and adopted resolutions arraigning the recent conduct of the governor and denouncing the maintenance of a standing army in the colony. When the governor called upon them to answer whether they would or would not make provision for the troops, the house replied: "As we cannot consistently with our own honor and interest, much less with the duty we owe to our constituents, so we never shall make any provision of funds for the purposes in your several messages." The general court was then prorogued until the tenth of the following January.

1769

Exit Governor Bernard

In August, Governor Bernard left Massachusetts, never to return. His letters, subsequently made public, showed that he had for some time been filling the ears of the ministry with reports derogatory to the province, charging the council with "servility to the populace," and the general court with disloyal hostility to the crown. If, as is doubtful, he had any true understanding of the state of public feeling in the colony, he persistently misrepresented it by styling his opponents a "faction." The responsibility for the presence of troops rests mainly with him, and he secretly urged such alteration of the charter as would place in the hands of the king the appointment of members of the upper house of the general court. "Since Machiavelli undertook to teach the Medici how principalities might be governed and maintained," says Trevelyan, "no such body of literature was put on paper as that in which Sir Francis Bernard . . . instructed George the Third and his ministers in the art of throwing away a choice portion of a mighty empire."

The Sam Adams Regiments

The presence of the troops in Boston was an increasing annoyance. The troops could not be legally used without the approval of a civil magistrate, and the behavior of the citizens afforded no occasion for their employment. The force at hand was quite inadequate to deal with a popular rising; "no doubt the soldiers were more afraid of the people than the people of the soldiers." In the early summer, Bernard had been startled by an inquiry from General Gage as to whether troops were longer needed and had hastened to reply that two regiments, one in the town and the other at Castle William, should by all means be retained. The sixty-fourth and sixty-fifth regiments, sent to Boston a few months before, were now ordered to Halifax. One had sailed and the other was about to embark, when the resolutions arraigning the course of Bernard appeared in the *Boston Gazette*. The regiment was detained until the resolutions were somewhat modified and then was allowed to depart. There remained in Boston the fourteenth and twenty-ninth regiments—the two that Lord North termed "the Sam Adams regiments."

1769

James Otis Becomes Insane

Two regiments or four, the troops were "a burden, a nuisance and an annoyance." They led brawling, riotous lives. Disreputable women who had followed the regiments across the sea scandalized the citizens for a time and then encumbered the almshouse. On Sundays, the soldiers raced horses on the common, or played "Yankee Doodle" and other airs just outside the meeting-house doors during service. Daily parades and drills were kept up, while duels and street-fights heaped bitterness on irritation and daily buried deeper the possibility of reconciliation. One calamity in particular brought serious loss to the patriot cause. In the summer of 1769, James Otis had a controversy with the revenue officers, and attacked them in the columns of the *Boston Gazette*. A few evenings later, he was assaulted by a commissioner of the revenue and several other persons, savagely beaten and given a sword-cut on the head. Otis brought suit for damages against the commissioner and obtained a judgment of two thousand pounds. The crown officer apologized and Otis refused to take a penny of the damages. The affair ended a career of worthy achievement and brilliant promise; a mental malady that had already shown itself grew rapidly worse and Otis shortly became hopelessly, though harmlessly, insane.

Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson

The fourteenth regiment was quartered in Murray's barracks, a short distance north of King (now State) street, and near the Brattle Street church; the twenty-ninth regiment was quartered in Water and Atkinson streets, a little south of King street. The main guard was stationed in King street, directly opposite the door of the town-house, and here the two field-pieces had been planted. "The troops must move to the castle," insisted Samuel Adams; "it must be the first business of the general court to move them out of town." Recognizing the unanimity of feeling in the patriot party, Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, upon whom the executive administration of the affairs of the colony had devolved after Bernard's withdrawal, made arrangements to remove the guard. The general court was to meet on the tenth of

1770

January, 1770, but, on the third of the month, Hutchinson received a royal order to prorogue the court until the second Wednesday in March. The main guard, consequently, was left at its station near the town-house.

Cumulative Trouble

In addition to the many order-loving citizens of Boston who were willing, if necessary, to take up arms in defense of their rights, there were many undesirable citizens who, under the guise of ardent patriotism, were ready for disorder. Thus collisions with the troops became frequent, inflamed public feeling, and prepared the way for more serious occurrences. One day, some seamen were impressed for service on an English man-of-war and the officer commanding the party was killed. When the case was tried in the admiralty court, it was shown that the alleged murder was committed in self-defense, but the acquittal of the accused did not allay popular resentment. The store of a merchant who persisted in selling goods prohibited by the non-importation agreement had been marked by a wooden image. When a friend of the merchant attempted to remove the offensive sign, a mob interfered; whereupon he fired into the crowd and fatally wounded a boy named Christopher Snider. At the funeral, five hundred children walked in front of the bier, six of Snider's schoolmates held the pall, and thirteen hundred persons followed in procession. On the second of March, there was an "affair" at Gray's wharf, or rope-walk. Words led to blows, injuries were inflicted on both sides, and the soldiers retired.

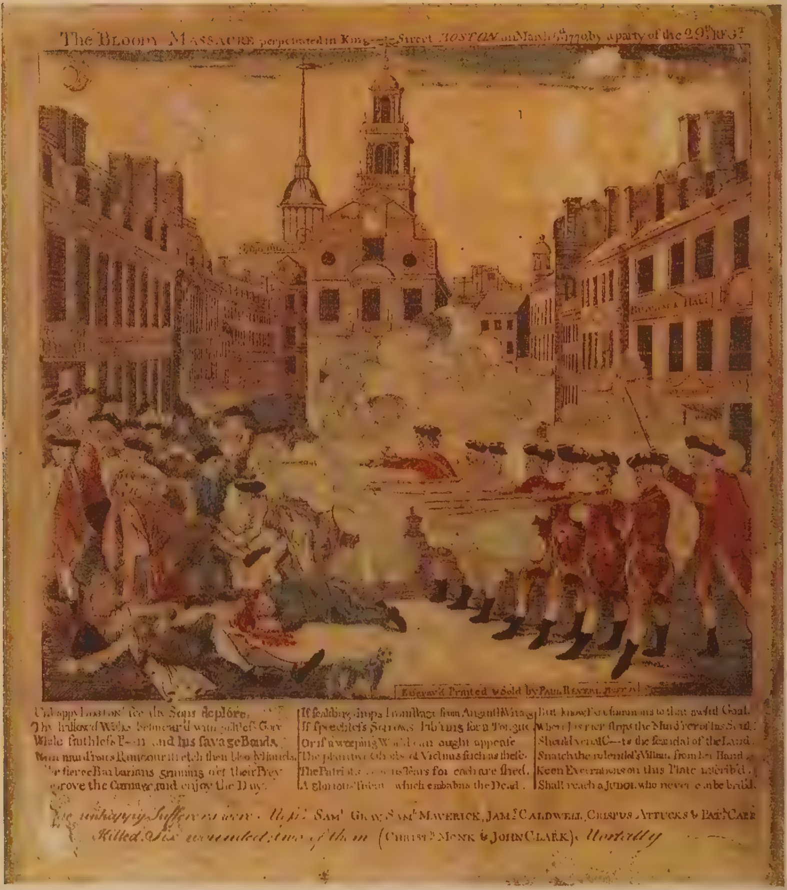
February

The Boston "Massacre"

On the evening of the fifth of March, two soldiers were attacked and beaten. Disturbance soon became general; bells were rung as though for a fire, and a crowd gathered in the streets with a rapidity that evidenced a preconcerted plan to "have it out" with the troops. About nine o'clock, the mob attacked a sentinel in front of the custom-house on King street. Captain Thomas Preston, officer of the day, sent a non-commissioned

Thos: Preston

Autograph of Preston



The Bloody Massacre on the Streets of Boston, March 5, 1770, engraved and colored by Paul Revere

Reproduction in facsimile (reduced) by special permission from a copy of the original kindly loaned by the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts

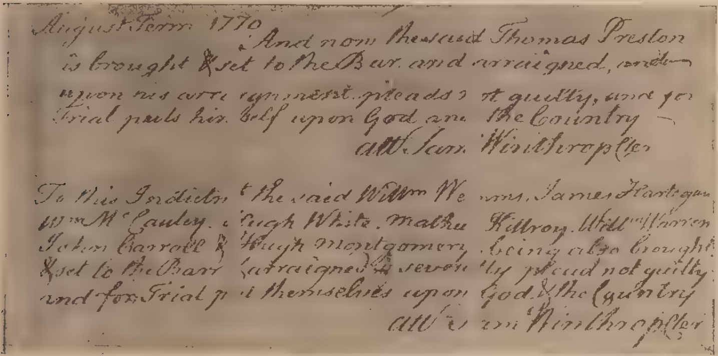
1770 officer and twelve men to protect the sentinel and the custom-house, himself following soon after. When he arrived, he found the guard surrounded by a mob armed with clubs; members of the mob pressed up almost to the muzzles of the guns and even threw snow in the

1770

soldiers' faces. "Come on, you rascals, you bloodybacks, you lobster-scoundrels; fire if you dare, fire and be damned; we know you dare not;" were among the choice expressions hurled at the guard. Military discipline was proof against verbal provocation, but when a soldier was struck with a stick he fired his musket without orders. As the enraged mob surged forward, three or four other muskets were discharged, then three more. The affair was over in about twenty minutes. Three of the rioters were killed and eight wounded, two of the latter mortally. Drums beat to arms; the twenty-ninth regiment formed in King street; the fourteenth regiment was held under arms at its barracks. Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson addressed the crowd and with difficulty prevailed on the people to disperse.

Self-control and Discipline

A warrant was immediately issued for the arrest of Preston and the soldiers who had done the firing. Preston at once surrendered himself and, with his men, was committed to jail. In his own account of the affair, Preston averred that he did not give any order to fire, but that he did his best to induce the mob to disperse and interfered to prevent a repetition of the firing after the first discharge. With the crowd shouting "Fire! fire!" the exasperated soldiers may have imagined that



August Term 1770 And now the said Thomas Preston
is brought & set to the Bar and arraigned, and
upon his arraignment pleads not guilty, and for
Trial puts him self upon God and the Country —
att. Sam. Winthrop Cler

To this Indictm.t the said Willm Wemms, James Hartegan
Wm McCauley, Hugh White, Mathew Killroy, Willm Warren
John Carroll & Hugh Montgomery, being also brought
& set to the Barr & arraigned severally plead not guilty,
and for Trial put themselves upon God & the Country
att. Sam Winthrop Cler

Indictment of Captain Thomas Preston for killing Samuel Maverick and others in the Boston Massacre

1770 they heard in the din the command that all doubtless would have welcomed; but it was due to the self-control of Preston and the discipline of the troops, as well as to the fact that so small a number was engaged, that the fight was not more bloody than it was.

Both Regiments Withdrawn

On the following morning, the people of Boston met in Faneuil Hall, voted, as the "unanimous opinion" of the meeting, "that the inhabitants and soldiery can no longer live together in safety," and appointed a committee of fifteen to wait upon the lieutenant-governor and to pray "that his power and influence may be exerted" for the "instant removal" of the troops. In reply, Hutchinson declared that it was not in his power to countermand General Gage's orders. Since, however, Colonel Dalrymple of the twenty-ninth was willing to withdraw, that regiment should be removed; the other should be "so disposed, and laid under such restraint, that all occasion of future disturbances may be prevented." The reply was at once voted unsatisfactory, and a committee, including Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Doctor Joseph Warren, was appointed to inform the lieutenant-governor "that nothing less will satisfy than a total and immediate removal of all the troops." "If you can remove the twenty-ninth regiment," said Adams to Dalrymple, "you can also remove the fourteenth; and it is at your peril if you do not." Hutchinson delayed until nightfall, when, with Oliver's grim suggestion, "You must either comply or determine to leave the province," ringing in his ears, he yielded. The removal was delayed until the following Monday.

Boston Massacre Monument

The Funeral of the Slain

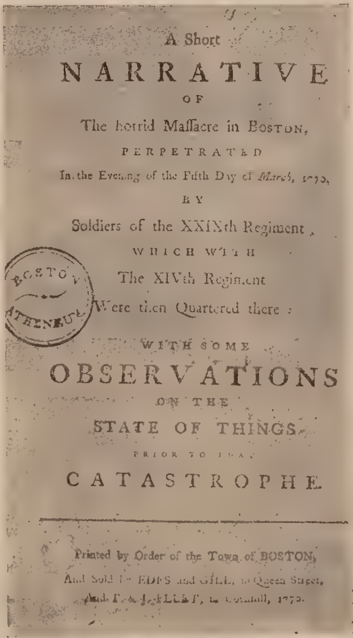
The leader of the mob of the fifth of March was Crispus

1770

Attucks, a native of Framingham, of mixed negro and Indian blood, a man of great strength and stature. He was the first to fall. It was decided that the bodies of the four who met death in the "massacre" should be buried in a common grave. The funeral took place on the eighth. According to a contemporary account, "all the shops were shut up, all the bells in the town were ordered to toll, as were those in the neighboring towns, and the bodies . . . were carried together through the main streets, followed by the greatest concourse of people ever known." The anniversary of their death was observed in Boston until the recognition of American independence in 1783, when the general celebration of the Fourth of July took its place.

Law-abiding Tendencies

Under the circumstances, the small loss of life was creditable alike to the discipline of the troops and to the moderation of the people. "In most ages and countries," says John Fiske, "the shooting of half a dozen citizens under such circumstances would either have produced but a slight impression, or, on the other hand, would perhaps have resulted on the spot in a wholesale slaughter of the unoffending soldiers. The fact that so profound an impression was made in Boston and throughout the country, while at the same time the guilty parties were left to be dealt with in the ordinary course of law, is a striking commentary upon the general peacefulness



A Short
NARRATIVE
OF
The horrid Maſſacre in BOSTON,
PERPETRATED
In the Evening of the Fifth Day of *March*, 1770,
BY
Soldiers of the XXIXth Regiment,
WHICH WITH
The XIVth Regiment
Were then Quartered there:
WITH SOME
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
STATE OF THINGS
PRIOR TO THAT
CATASTROPHE

Printed by Order of the Town of BOSTON,
And Sold by EDES and GILL, in Queen Street,
And T. & J. FLEET, in Cornhill, 1770.

Title-page of the published *Narrative* of the Massacre

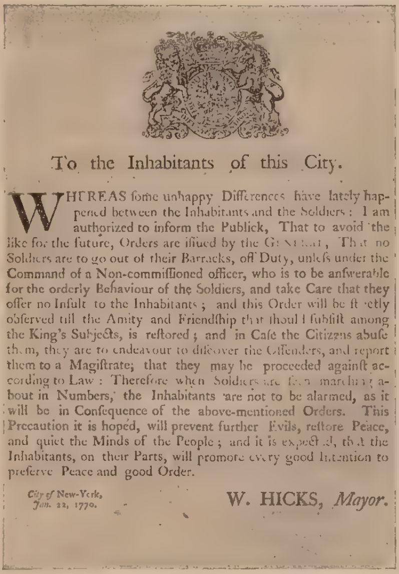
1770 and decorum of American life, and it shows how high and severe was the standard by which our forefathers judged all lawless proceedings." None the less, all classes in Boston "joined in execrating the soldiers, and gave no ear to justifying or mitigating circumstances." Highly magnified accounts of the affair were spread abroad and, in all the colonies, intensified the spirit of resistance. The title of "The Boston Massacre" still clings, and probably always will cling, to the events of that night.

Preston's Acquittal

The trial of Captain Preston and the accused soldiers did not take place until the last week of October. The prisoners were defended by Josiah Quincy and John Adams. Quincy's family had been prominent in Massachusetts for more than a century. He was born in Boston in 1744, was graduated at Harvard in 1763, studied law with Oxenbridge Thacher, had rare oratorical powers, and soon rose to the foremost rank in his profession. The Boston populace was intensely excited and it required both moral and physical courage to defend the "redcoats." Quincy's father remonstrated against his son's undertaking the defense and wrote: "Good God, is it possible! I will not believe it." John Adams was a relative of Samuel Adams and one of the most prominent of the younger lawyers of the province; he had qualities and was developing powers that made him one of the foremost figures in American history. The jury acquitted Preston and all the soldiers save two; these two were convicted of manslaughter, probably more to appease the people than because of any clear proof of their guilt. The convicted men at once pleaded benefit of clergy, under which provision of old English law a person who could read and write might escape further punishment by being branded in the hand; and this penalty was accordingly inflicted.

In New York

Other colonies, too, had their disturbances, though none so serious as the "Boston Massacre." The New York assembly had yielded and made the provision for troops required by the quartering act. This offended the patriot party and increased the ill feeling between the people and the soldiers. In January, 1770, the soldiers cut down the "liberty-pole" and placards denouncing the Sons of Liberty were posted about the town. A new pole, substantially secured with iron, was immediately erected. An address denouncing the action of the assembly in voting money for the troops was declared libelous by that body, and the publisher, Alexander McDougall, was sent to jail, indicted by the grand jury, released on bail, adjudged guilty of contempt, and again sent to jail. After having been under bonds for a year and in confinement for more than five months, all without trial, he was discharged by the supreme court in March, 1771.



To the Inhabitants of this City.

WHEREAS ſome unhappy Differences have lately happened between the Inhabitants and the Soldiers: I am authorized to inform the Publick, That to avoid the like for the future, Orders are iſſued by the GENERAL, That no Soldiers are to go out of their Barracks, off Duty, unleſs under the Command of a Non-commiſſioned officer, who is to be anſwerable for the orderly Behaviour of the Soldiers, and take Care that they offer no Inſult to the Inhabitants; and this Order will be ſtrictly obſerved till the Amity and Friendſhip that ſhould ſubſiſt among the King's Subjects, is reſtored; and in Caſe the Citizens abuſe them, they are to endeavour to diſcover the Offenders, and report them to a Magiſtrate; that they may be proceeded againſt according to Law: Therefore when Soldiers are ſeen marching about in Numbers, the Inhabitants are not to be alarmed, as it will be in Conſequence of the above-mentioned Orders. This Precaution it is hoped, will prevent further Evils, reſtore Peace, and quiet the Minds of the People; and it is expected, that the Inhabitants, on their Parts, will promote every good Intention to preſerve Peace and good Order.

City of New-York,
Jan. 22, 1770.

W. HICKS, *Mayor.*

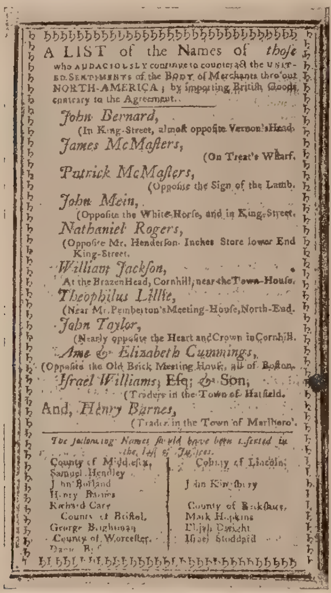
Mayor Hicks's Proclamation for Preservation of Order in New York

Enforcing the Non-importation Agreement

Throughout the colonies, non-importation agreements similar to those adopted in Massachusetts and Virginia had been widely entered into. Such a "self-denying ordinance" was hard to enforce after the first flush of enthusiasm had passed and it often became necessary to adopt harsh measures to compel conformity. Edes and Gill's *Almanack* for 1770 contained a "black-list" of the "names of those who audaciously continue to counteract the united sentiments of the body of merchants thro'out North America; by importing British goods contrary to the agreement." "William Jackson, an importer at Brazen Head, north side of the Town House, and opposite the Town Pump, in Corn-hill,

1770

Boston," gave offense, and a handbill announced that "It is desired that the Sons and Daughters of Liberty will not buy any one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring disgrace upon themselves and their posterity for ever and ever."



A LIST of the Names of *thoſe* who AUDACIOUSLY continue to counteract the UNITED SENTIMENTS of the BODY of Merchants thro'out NORTH-AMERICA; by importing British Goods contrary to the Agreement.

John Bernard, (In King-Street, almoſt oppoſite Vernon's Head.

James McMaſters, (On Treat's Wharf.

Patrick McMaſters, (Oppoſite the Sign of the Lamb.

John Mein, (Oppoſite the White-Horſe, and in King-Street.

Nathaniel Rogers, (Oppoſite Mr. Henderſon Inches Store lower End King-Street.

William Jackſon, At the Brazen Head, Cornhill, near the Town-Houſe.

Theophilus Lillie, (Near Mr. Pemberton's Meeting-Houſe, North-End.

John Taylor, (Nearly oppoſite the Heart and Crown in Cornhill.

Ame & Elizabeth Cummings, (Oppoſite the Old Brick Meeting Houſe, all of Boſton.

Iſrael Williams, Eſq; & Son, (Traders in the Town of Hatfield.

And, *Henry Barnes,* (Trader in the Town of Marlboro'.

The following Names ſhould have been inſerted in the liſt of Juſtices.

County of Middleſex,
Samuel Hendley
John Borland
Henry Barnes
Richard Cary
County of Briſtol,
George Brightman
County of Worceſter,

County of Lincoln,
John Kingſbury
County of Berkſhire,
Mark Hopkins
Elijah Dwight
Iſrael Stoddard

Black-list published in Edes and Gill's *North American Almanack*, 1770

The Loyal Lieutenant-Governor

April 27

In a letter to Hillsborough, Hutchinson reported that efforts were being made to compel all who had imported contraband goods to send them back; "that the Boston zealots had no bowels, and gave for answer, that if a ship was to bring in the plague, nobody would doubt what was necessary to be done with her; but the present case is much worse than that." Hutchinson tried to form an opposition association, through the agency of "a merchant of the first estate and character," but failed, the merchant advising him that "until parliament made provision for the punishment of the confederacies, all would be ineffectual, and the associates would be exposed to popular rage."

Pownall and Barré for Repeal

Although imperfectly kept, the non-importation agreements had so far affected trade as to alarm British merchants. English exports to America, which amounted to 2,378,000 pounds sterling in 1768, had fallen to 1,634,000 pounds in 1769; in 1770, they were 1,925,000 pounds. In 1769, Pownall had moved the repeal of the revenue act. In an elaborate speech, he pointed out that the gross receipts from the duties, which Townshend had estimated at forty thousand pounds annually, had been for the first year less than sixteen thousand pounds, of which only two hundred and ninety-five pounds was net revenue; while extraordinary military expenses in America had aggregated one hundred and seventy thousand pounds. Lord North, however, doubtless speaking for the king, declared that "however prudence or policy may hereafter induce us to repeal the late act, I hope we shall never think of it till we see America prostrate at our feet." Barré reminded him that that was more easily imagined than accomplished, and continued: "For my part, the America I wish to see is America increasing and prosperous, raising her head in graceful dignity, with freedom and firmness asserting her rights at your bar, vindicating her liberties, pleading her services, and conscious of her merit. . . . Unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America." By a majority of one vote, the cabinet sustained North, but Hillsborough shortly addressed a circular letter to the colonial governors informing them that "His Majesty's Present Administration have [at] no time entertained a Design to propose to Parliament to lay any further Taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a Revenue, and . . . it is at present their Intention to propose in the next Session of Parliament to take off the Duties on Glass, Paper, and Colours, upon consideration of such Duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of Commerce."

May 13, 1769

Standing on the Rock

The proposition to repeal some of the duties was not acceptable in America where the principle of the tax rather than the amount of it was objected to. A meeting of Boston merchants resolved that the proposed repeal "was intended merely to gratify the British manufacturers" and failed to redress the colonial grievances. A committee of merchants in Philadelphia resolved that "nothing less than a repeal of all the revenue acts, and putting things on the same footing they were before the late innovations, can or will satisfy the minds of the people." There was something like defiance in the words: "The fleets and armies may overawe our towns; admiralty courts and boards of commissioners, with their

November, 1770

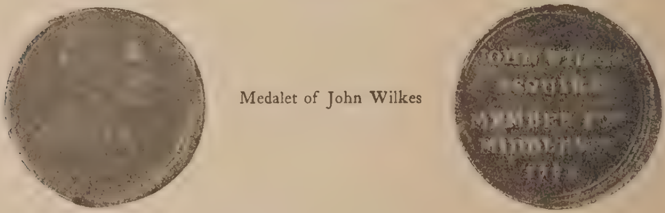
1770

swarms of underlings, may, by a rigorous execution of severe unconstitutional acts, ruin our commerce and render America of little use to the people of Britain; but while every farmer is a freeholder the spirit of liberty will prevail." Among the signers of the Philadelphia resolutions were Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, and Thomas Mifflin.

Lord North becomes the Nominal Premier

January 9

Political changes in England combined with violent protest in America to hasten a settlement. The speech from the throne at the opening of parliament began: "My Lords and Gentlemen: It is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open this session of parliament with acquainting you, that the distemper among the horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom, notwithstanding every precaution that could be used for preventing the infection from foreign parts." The incongruity was laughable. The mysterious and pungent "Junius" complained that "instead of the firmness and decision of a king, you gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier." Chatham championed the cause of Wilkes and denied the right of Luttrell to a seat. "The very sound of his voice dissolved the composite ministry." Camden, the lord chancellor, was dismissed, Grafton soon resigned, and Lord North was called upon to form a ministry. From that moment, "George III. was his own prime minister and his own cabinet." North was thirty-seven years old, of "sound judgment, wide knowledge, and rare sweetness of temper, but wholly lacking in sympathy with popular government." He had supported the stamp act and did not doubt the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies; but he was opposed



Medalet of John Wilkes

January 25

to harsh measures and sincerely desired a reconciliation; unfortunately, his political ideals did not rise above subserviency to the king. His long administration, extending to 1782, is well said by an English writer to have "teemed with calamitous events beyond any of the same duration to be found in our annals."

North's Repeal Bill

On the fifth of March, the day of the "Boston Massacre," North brought in a bill to repeal the duties imposed by the Townshend revenue act, except the duty on tea. The reasons given for the repeal were "the dangerous combinations which these duties have given birth to beyond the Atlantic" and the dissatisfaction with them among merchants at home. As to the duties themselves, they were, as a whole, "so absurd and preposterous, that it must astonish every reasonable man how they could have originated in a British legislature." As to the duty on tea, while it imposed a trifling duty of threepence a pound, the removal of a duty of nearly twelve pence a pound made a clear reduction of the price of tea in America. The real reason for retaining the tea duty was, of course, that the right of parliament to tax the colonies, as set forth in the declaratory act of 1766, was thereby asserted. "The properest time to assert our right of taxation," declared North, "is when the right is refused. To temporize is to yield, and the authority of the mother-country, if it is now unsupported, will in reality be relinquished forever."

Pownall's Amendment

Pownall moved to amend the bill by including tea in the repeal; in this he was supported by Conway and Barré. Every reason for repealing a part of the duties applies equally to repealing them all, while a partial repeal will be a "source of perpetual discontent to the colonies" and a "certain expense to ourselves." "The tea duty will by no means answer the charge of collecting it;" the effect "of a partial repeal is to plunder ourselves, while it oppresses our fellow-subjects, and all for the mere purpose of preserving a paltry preamble which is utterly useless and unnecessary." Grenville made a spirited defense of his course in the matter of the stamp act and

1770 declared that "since that time, no minister had acted with common sense." He opposed both the ministerial bill and the amendment and announced that he should not vote on the question. By a vote of two hundred and four against one hundred and forty-two, Pownall's amendment was rejected.

The Passage of the Repeal Bill

The bill repealing all the duties except that on tea was passed, and, on the twelfth of April, it received the royal assent. The tea act of 1767, taking off the inland duty of one shilling a pound on teas consumed in England and granting a drawback for five years on teas exported to America, was continued in force. The obnoxious quartering act of 1765 was quietly abandoned. The second attempt to tax America for the sake of a revenue had failed. Would the attempt to tax America for the sake of a principle succeed?

CHAPTER VII

STRENGTHENING THE COLONIAL BODY

The Abandoned Agreement

IN the discussion of the Townshend acts and their repeal, Doctor Johnson had declared that the Americans "are a race of convicted felons, and they ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." "We shall grant nothing to the Americans," said the secretary of state for the colonies, "except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." Happily, better counsels prevailed and the acts were repealed. An immediate effect of the repeal was the abandonment by the colonies of their non-importation and non-consumption agreements, save as to tea which still remained under the ban. The agreements had never been popular and were difficult to enforce. They had the effect, however, of stimulating the growth of American manufactures, particularly of cloth and boots and shoes, of encouraging the use of home-made articles, and of discouraging extravagance. The graduating class at Harvard College, in 1770, "were dressed in black cloth, entirely the manufacture of New England."

The Protest of the Massachusetts General Court

But there was no immediate cessation of the colonial agitation and the leadership of Massachusetts became still more pronounced. When the general court of that province met at Cambridge on the fifteenth of March, the house protested against the "infraction of their essential rights as men and citizens, as well as those derived from the British constitution and the charter of the colony," and petitioned for adjournment to Boston. Hutch-

1770 inson refused to comply with the request, and, after a heated discussion of the matter for eight days, the house resolved "to proceed to business under this grievance only from *absolute necessity*." The protest was ordered entered on the journals "to the end that the same may not be drawn into precedent at any time hereafter."

A Recipe for Tranquillity

In his communications to the general court, Hutchinson did not allude to the tragedy of the fifth of March. On the seventh of April, he informed them of a "riotous transaction" at Gloucester, where a customs officer had been tarred and feathered, in order, as he said, "that, if any act or order of the whole legislature should be judged necessary for the strengthening or encouraging the executive powers of government, there might be an opportunity for it." Two weeks later, the house expressed its "abhorrence of all disorderly and riotous proceedings" and its "disposition and duty to take the most effectual measures to discountenance the same," and affirmed the propriety of inquiring into the "real causes" of such "riots and tumults." "It may justly be said of the people of this province," they declared, "that they seldom, if ever, have assembled in a tumultuous manner, unless they have been oppressed. It cannot be expected that a people accustomed to the freedom of the English constitution will be patient under the hand of tyranny and arbitrary power. . . . The most effectual method to restore tranquillity would be to remove their burdens, and to punish all those who have been the procurers of their oppression. . . . Your honor cannot think this House can descend to the consideration of matters comparatively trifling, while the capital of the province has so lately been in a state of actual imprisonment, and the government itself under duress."

Another Protest

The session was cut short; but successive prorogations had brought the day of dissolution close to the date on which, by the charter, the new court should convene. In the session just closed, parties had been about equally divided; successful efforts were now made to increase the ranks of the "patriots." The members from Boston were instructed to resist the "unwarrantable and arbitrary exactions made upon the people" and warned that "many recent events, and especially the late journals of the House of Lords, afford good reason to believe that a desperate plan of imperial despotism has been laid, and partly executed, for the extinction of all civil liberty." When the general court assembled, the house again protested against the order assembling them at Cambridge. "The town house in Boston," it was declared, "is the only place where the General Court is to be convened and held. We do not conceive that it is in your honor's discretion to remove it to this or to any other place; nor does the prerogative of the crown extend so far as to suffer you to exercise power to the injury of the people." Ninety-six out of one hundred and two members united in a protest against doing business under such circumstances, and, on the twenty-fifth of June, Hutchinson prorogued the court for a month. When it reassembled in July, it was prorogued until September. 1770 May 31

The receipt of news of the "Boston massacre" called out a brief parliamentary debate on American affairs. "God forbid we should send soldiers to act without civil authority," exclaimed Grenville. "Let us have no more angry votes against the people of America," said Lord Beauchamp. "The officers agreed in sending the soldiers to Castle William," said Barré; "what minister will dare to send them back to Boston?" On the eighth of May, Pownall introduced a resolution "praying his Majesty to examine the commissions issued to officers in America, that they might be amended in all cases in which they clashed or interfered with each other, or contained any powers not warranted by the constitution." The next day, Edmund Burke submitted seventeen resolutions condemning the conduct of the ministry, but refraining from outlining a policy. "Lord Hillsborough," said Wedderburn, "is unfit for his office. The nation suffers by his continuance. At the close of the last reign, you had the continent of America in one compact country. Not quite ten years have passed over, and you have lost In Parliament

1770 those provinces by domestic mismanagement." The resolutions were rejected except the first, which merely affirmed the existence of recent disorders in the colonies. This was carried by a vote of one hundred and ninety-seven to seventy-nine. The resolutions were also read in the house of lords where the duke of Richmond attacked Hillsborough's conduct. After a feeble defense, Hillsborough moved an adjournment; although the device was unsuccessful, the resolutions were rejected by a large majority.

In Boston Harbor

On the eighth of September, 1770, Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson received an order, adopted by the king in council on the sixth of July, designating Boston harbor as "the rendezvous of all ships stationed in North America" and directing that Castle William "be delivered up to such officer as Gage should appoint, to be garrisoned by regular troops and put into a respectable state of defence." General Gage designated Colonel Dalrymple as the officer to take charge of the fort. The charter of Massachusetts constituted the governor the commander-in-chief of the militia of the province and authorized him to erect, equip, or demolish forts and fortifications, "and to commit from time to time the custody and government of the same to such person or persons as to him shall seem mete." As Castle William was the property of the province, the royal order was apparently an infringement of the charter. Hutchinson hesitated from Saturday until Monday and then gave the necessary authority to Dalrymple who at once proceeded to the fort. Hutchinson then communicated his instructions to the council who were "struck with amazement" at this new invasion of colonial rights. From the council chamber, the governor hastened to the castle and delivered the keys to Dalrymple. Provincial troops were replaced by regulars, and Castle William remained in control of the commander-in-chief of the British troops until the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776.

Hutchinson's Silence

The general court met in Cambridge at the end of September, appointed a day of fasting and prayer, and again asked that they be removed to Boston. In reply, Hutchinson asserted that he was "restrained" from complying, but that he was not confined to Cambridge and was willing to convoke the court at any town in the province which should appear to him most convenient for the members and not opposed to the "spirit" of his instructions. An inquiry by the house, twice made, as to "whether he still held command of the castle," having elicited no satisfactory reply, the council asked for a copy of the instruction under which the governor was acting and of Hillsborough's letter transmitting it, in order that such measures might be taken "as should be judged most advisable to vindicate their character, and prevent any infringements on the charter rights of the province." Franklin was soon chosen agent of the colony, to succeed De Berdt who had died, and a committee of the house was appointed to correspond with the agent and with the speakers of other colonial assemblies. The general court was soon prorogued until November. At the November session, there were renewed inquiries as to whether the lieutenant-governor still held command of Castle William.

The New York Revolters

After the repeal of the Townshend revenue act, the merchants of New York abandoned their non-importation agreement and sent large orders to England for merchandise, except tea. In other colonies, goods imported contrary to the agreements were waiting to be sold, or were sent secretly about the country with more or less of local connivance. The action of New York aroused much indignation. At a Boston town-meeting, the letter of the New York merchants was torn in pieces. At Princeton, the students of the college tolled the church bell, assembled on the green in their black gowns, and burned the New York letter. Charles Town vehemently denounced the "Revolters," while Philadelphia sent word to New York that "you would better send us your old liberty pole, for you clearly have no further use for it." Hutchinson welcomed the dispute as tending to break down colonial union.

1771

Hutchinson's Promotion

In April, 1771, Hutchinson informed the general court that he had been appointed governor of the province. Notwithstanding the recent controversies, the appointment was doubtless acceptable to a majority of the people of Massachusetts, for Hutchinson had been born and educated in the colony. The house returned a cordial answer mingled with some pointed suggestions about the "reciprocal duties" of "governor and governed," and the "use of the public power with a view only to the public welfare." Repeated requests for the removal of the court from Cambridge to Boston were denied and the radicals in the house, headed by Samuel Adams, were for doing no business save in Boston; but the majority were opposed to a step that would force a breach with the governor.

Thomas Hutchinson

Mrs. Hutchinson

A New Controversy

On the twenty-fifth of April, the house inquired of Hutchinson whether any provision had been made outside the province for his support; for, since he had not approved bills of the present session making the usual grants, nor a bill of the last session appropriating money for his services as lieutenant-governor, "the House are apprehensive that you are under some restraint; and they cannot account for it upon any other principle, but your having provision for your support in some new and unprecedented manner." Hutchinson replied the next day that he had not yet received full instructions, but "that the king, lords, and commons, our supreme legislature, have determined it to be expedient to enable his Majesty to make a certain and adequate provision for the support of the civil government in the colonies, as his Majesty shall judge necessary." He apprehended that the people would not regret this measure of relief from taxation.

A Formal Protest

On the nineteenth of June, the house formally protested against this new policy of government by instructions, as illustrated particularly in the arbitrary continuance of the general court at Cambridge and the independent provision for the governor's salary. "By the charter, the governor, with other civil officers, is to be supported by the free gift of the general assembly; and it would be dangerous for so important a trust as that of convening, adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving the general assembly to be placed in any one who is not thus supported by the free grants of the people. . . . If an instruction is as obligatory on a governor as some contend for, or supersede the charter in one instance, it may in a thousand, or in all."

The Exemption of Crown Salaries

Another controversy quickly followed. For several years, the salaries of the commissioners of customs had been assessed by the towns in which the commissioners resided. The amount involved was small, but the crown officers had complained and the governor had been instructed "not to consent to any bill with a clause which would authorize taxing the salaries of the commissioners, or any other officers paid by the king." In July, 1771, Hutchinson refused his assent to the tax bill of that year. In a vigorous reply, the house characterized his reason as "surprising and alarming;" declared that "we know of no commissioners of his Majesty's customs, nor of any revenue his Majesty has a right to establish in North America," but that "we know and feel a tribute levied

1771 and extorted from those who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it;" and insisted that the action of the governor was "effectually vacating the charter." The governor was immovable, however, and not only refused his assent to the tax bill, but also negatived the grants made at the previous session to Bollan and the executors of De Berdt, for services as agents of the colony in England. On the fifth of July, the house requested that the general court might be convoked in October next, in order to complete the list of rateable estates in the province, as provided for by an act just passed. "I shall always consult his Majesty's service," replied Hutchinson, "as to the time of meeting the general assembly, and govern myself accordingly." The general court did not meet again until April, 1772.

More British War-ships

In August, 1771, the fleet in Boston harbor was reinforced by twelve ships of war under Rear-admiral Montagu. A year later, John Adams wrote bitterly of Montagu's "brutal, hoggish manners." "A coachman, a jack-tar before the mast, would be ashamed, nay, a porter, a shoeblack, or chimney sweeper, would be ashamed of the coarse, low, vulgar dialect of this sea officer, though a rear admiral of the blue, and though a second son of a genteel if not a noble family in England. An American freeholder, living in a log house twenty feet square without a chimney in it, is a well-bred man, a polite accomplished person, a fine gentleman, in comparison of this beast of prey." The dispatch of a fleet to Boston was not soothing and the pretext of providing against a possible attack by Spain on the British possessions in America was not convincing. "The tragedy of American freedom is nearly completed," wrote Samuel Adams. "A tyranny seems to be at the very door." In November, Hutchinson issued his thanksgiving proclamation, but the Boston ministers, with one exception, refused to read it. On the next anniversary of the "Boston Massacre," Doctor Joseph Warren delivered a memorable oration, while memorial handbills were freely distributed.

March 5, 1772

Although it was in Massachusetts that the encroachments of Great Britain were most persistently pressed, and there that every infringement of colonial rights was most strenuously resisted, circumstances thus conspiring to bring that colony forward as the leader of the new movement, there were disturbing events elsewhere. The Georgia house of assembly having chosen a speaker who was objectionable to the governor, the choice was negatived. The house declared the act of the governor a breach of their privileges and the governor dissolved it. Hillsborough soon instructed the governor "to put his negative upon any person whom they should next elect for speaker, and to dissolve the assembly in case they should question the right of such negative." The South Carolina commons house of assembly voted a substantial sum of money to Wilkes, the occasion of a violent controversy between the assembly on one hand and Lieutenant-governor Bull and the council on the other. With the approval of the king, Bull withheld his assent from all money bills that were contrary to his instructions, so that no provision for paying public debts was made in the province from December, 1769, until 1774. In 1770, a royal order directed the governor of Virginia, "upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." Against this order Virginia solemnly protested in a direct appeal to the king, but without result.

Massachusetts Leadership

February, 1770

In the Southern Colonies

December 9

Massachusetts had also been discussing the propriety and legality of slavery. As early as 1767, the general court attempted to put a stop to the further importation of negroes, but legislative action had been prevented by the opposition of Bernard and Hutchinson, the representatives of the king. A number of slaves, however, obtained their freedom by suits at law, many were emancipated, and a general amelioration of the condition of slaves came about. A decision presently rendered in the English courts was of great indirect service to the cause of freedom. An African negro, named Somerset, had

Lord Mansfield and Slavery

1771 been taken by his master from Virginia to England, where he refused to serve. In consequence, he was arrested and put on board a vessel bound for Jamaica. A writ of habeas corpus brought the question before the court of king's bench. In giving the decision, Lord Mansfield said: "The now question is, whether any dominion, authority, or coercion can be exercised in this country on a slave according to the American laws. The difficulty of adopting the relation, without adopting it in all its consequences is indeed extreme; yet many of those consequences are absolutely contrary to the municipal law of England. . . . The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by a positive law. . . . It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I can not say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England, and therefore the black must be discharged." The decision was of force only in England, but it made easier the abandonment of slavery in those colonies in which it was not sustained by positive law.

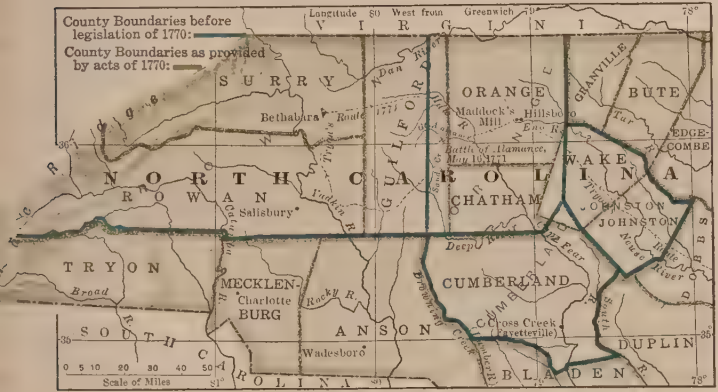
William, Lord Mansfield

The Carolina Regulators

After the close of the Seven Years' war, the upper or "back" counties of the Carolinas had increased rapidly in population, chiefly from the immigration of Germans and Presbyterian Scotch-Irish. The Anglican church oligarchy that had long controlled the politics of South Carolina prevented the organization of courts in the new region, thus obliging suitors at law to take long journeys and to incur heavy expenses in prosecuting their claims.

1771

When horse-thieves and other criminals became numerous, the settlers organized local associations called "Regulators" and took the law into their own hands. Some of the inhabitants clamored for courts and jury trial and the two factions were soon at the point of open war. The dispute spread to the older, or "lower," counties where it continued to affect provincial politics until after the beginning of the Revolution.



Map of Regulators' War

The Battle of Alamance

A more formidable movement developed in North Carolina where bodies of "Regulators" were formed to resist the extortion of the sheriffs in the collection of fees and taxes and to secure redress for other serious grievances. Sheriffs, judges, lawyers, and others were assaulted, courts were broken up, and a reign of terror was inaugurated. In the spring of 1771, Governor Tryon led an armed expedition against the "Regulators" and defeated them in a pitched battle at Alamance near the head-waters of the Cape Fear River. Two hundred "Regulators" were killed and a large number taken prisoners; six of the latter were tried and hanged for treason; little or nothing was done to remove or to mitigate the causes that had brought on the uprising. Governor Tryon, who won much credit by this exploit, was soon transferred to the more important province of New York, and his successor,

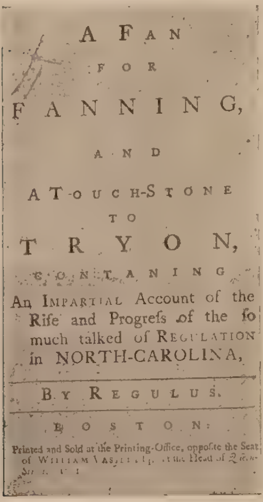
May 16

July

Josiah Martin, won back the loyalty of the disaffected inhabitants.

The West

Not all the events of these years, however, were of this sort. On the contrary, there were evidences that the animosity towards the mother country was declining and that the people of America were disposed to resume their former attitude of affection and contentment, provided new causes for irritation did not arise. Moreover, the colonies were growing. The West, in particular, was steadily filling with settlers, who were far more concerned to conquer the wilderness and to make homes for their families than they were to dispute with Great Britain about revenue and tea. After the North Carolina "peasants' rising on account of economic wrongs" had been mercilessly put down at Alamance, many of the "Regulators" crossed the mountains to make for themselves new homes in the wilderness beyond the proclamation line of 1763. Thus Governor Tryon's refusal to grant needed reforms, pushed hardy pioneers into the valleys of the Kentucky and the Tennessee where the foundations of new states were being laid. Of this opening of the great West, the story will be briefly told in a later chapter.



A FAN
FOR
FANNING,
AND
A TOUCH-STONE
TO
TRYON,
CONTAINING
An IMPARTIAL Account of the
Riſe and Progreſs of the ſo
much talked of REGULATION
in NORTH-CAROLINA,

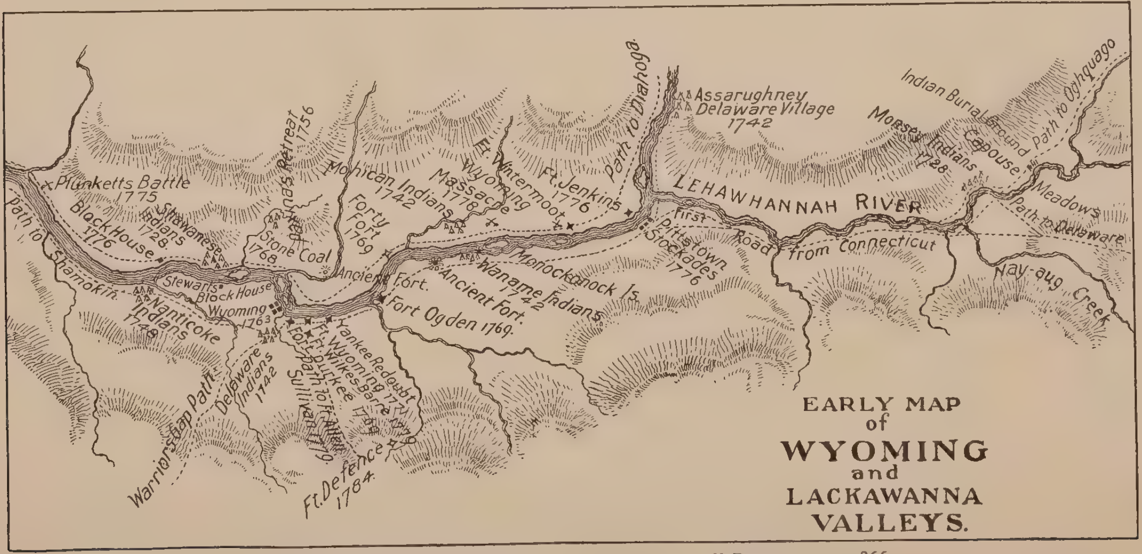
BY REGULUS.

BOSTON:
Printed and Sold at the Printing-Office, oppoſite the Seat
of WILLIAM [illegible] the Head of Queen-
[illegible]

Title-page of a Pamphlet on "*Regulation*"

Wyoming

In 1754, a Connecticut association, known as the Susquehanna company, obtained from the Six Nations a tract of land on the east branch of the Susquehanna River, later known as the Wyoming region. Prior to 1770, several settlements were made, some of which were broken up by the Indians. Pennsylvania also claimed Wyoming, denied the validity of the grant to the Susquehanna company, and itself made grants in the same region. There were



Redrawn from Pearce's "Annals of Luzerne County," Philadelphia, 1866

1771 frequent collisions, but the Susquehanna company held its ground until Connecticut assumed jurisdiction under authority of its charter of 1662, named the settlement January, 1774 Westmoreland, and annexed it to Litchfield County.

Boundary Disputes

Pennsylvania had also a boundary controversy with Virginia over the western frontier. An agreement between Governor Tryon and Governor Hutchinson, relative to the boundary between New York and Massachusetts, east of the Hudson, was reached in 1773, but Massachusetts still retained her claims to land in western New York. As to Vermont, Tryon was less fortunate. That territory had been confirmed to New York by an order in council and organized into counties, but the refusal to recognize the grants made by New Hampshire led to trouble as outlined in the preceding volume.

Education

In 1764, Rhode Island College was chartered by the general assembly of Rhode Island. In 1770, it was removed to Providence, the college building there, later known as University Hall, being at the time the largest structure in the colonies. In 1804, the name was changed to Brown University. Queen's College, later known as Rutgers, was established in New Jersey in 1770. Dartmouth College, the outgrowth of Eleazer Wheelock's Indian School at Lebanon, Connecticut, was established at Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1769. The name of the college was given in honor of the earl of Dartmouth, one of the trustees of the funds that had been

Brown University in 1793
(A southwest view of the college, garden, and president's house)

collected in England for the school by Sampson Occum, an Indian convert and preacher. But the English endowment did not quiet the promptings of American patriotism. In 1768, we find the Reverend Jacob Johnson at Fort Stanwix "in behalfe of Dr. Wheelock in the cause of propegateing the Gospel among the Indians" of the Six Nations. Mr. Johnson seems to have given offense to Sir William Johnson and other "Gentlemen of the Civil & Military order" by drinking to the health of the king of New England. On the following day, he wrote in explanation that he meant the health of George III., "and I mean to drink such a Health to his British Majesty, when occasion serves, so long as his Royal Majesty shall govern his British & American subjects according to Magna Charta. . . . But in case his British Majesty (which God in great mercy prevent) should superseed and proceed contrary to charter rights and privileges, & Govern us with a Rod of Iron, & the mouth of Canons, and make his little finger thicker than his Fathers loyns, and utterly refuse to hear or consider our Humble prayers; then, & in that case I should think it my indispensable Duty to seek a retreat else where: or joyn with my Countrymen in Forming a new Empire in America, distinct from, & independent of the British Empire." I find no record of the degree of satisfaction given by the "apology."

October 19, 1768

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF COLONIAL UNION

Petition and Prerogative

WHEN the Massachusetts general court met in April, 1772, the dispute about the place of meeting was again revived. In the house, John Hancock offered a motion that ignored the question of right, but merely requested the governor, "in consideration of the inconveniences attending their sitting at Cambridge," to remove the court to Boston. Hutchinson informed the houses that he would not change the place of meeting so long as "the prerogative of the crown to instruct the governor to convene the court at such place as his Majesty may think proper" continued to be denied. The house, in reply, reaffirmed its position and declared that silence "might be construed as tacitly conceding to a doctrine injurious to the constitution, and in effect as rescinding our own record, of which we still deliberately approve." On the twenty-fifth of April, the governor again prorogued the assembly.

Persistently Protesting

On the twenty-eighth of May, the general court once more assembled at Cambridge and the house once more protested. "The town house in Boston is the accustomed, ancient place for holding the General Assembly, and where alone provision is made for it. It does not appear to us that there was any necessity for convening the assembly in this place, nor can we conceive of any for continuing it here. Without such necessity, the continuing the assembly in any other place than the town house, in Boston, will be a very great grievance and an undue exercise of your power. And as we cannot, without the greatest inconvenience, proceed to the consideration of the public business in this place, which is very pressing, and greatly in arrears, by reason of the prorogations the last year, we are constrained to lay before your Excellency our earnest request that you would be pleased to remove the assembly to the town house in Boston." 1772

Hutchinson Gives Way

Hutchinson desired to know whether the remark about "necessity" referred to the first convocation of the court in Cambridge or to the present one, to which the house replied that they thought the expression "sufficiently clear and plain." The governor responded that "whilst you dispute the authority by which I removed the court from Boston, I do not intend to carry it thither again." In the account of the episode given in his "History," Hutchinson admits that he acted "suddenly and imprudently," that "both council and house charged him with too critical a distinction," and that "several of his friends were hurt by it." He accordingly laid his instructions before the council and requested their opinion whether he might remove the court to Boston. The council "were unanimously of opinion that he might," and, on the thirteenth of June, the court was adjourned to meet three days later at Boston. "Thus," writes Hutchinson, "one of the alleged grievances was removed, but not with so good grace as if the desire of the house had been immediately complied with."

The Burning of the "Gaspee"

Under pretense of suppressing smuggling, the "Gaspee," an English armed vessel commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston, had for some time been arbitrarily searching vessels in the waters of Narragansett Bay. Stephen Hopkins, the chief-justice of Rhode Island, had given his opinion "that any person who should come into the colony, and exercise any authority by force of arms, without showing his commission to the governor, and, if a custom-house officer, without being sworn into his office, was guilty of a trespass, if not piracy;" but Admiral Montagu, to whom Dudingston appealed, declared that the latter had "done his duty," and that if the people of

1772 Newport attempted to rescue any vessel, "and any of them are taken, I will hang them as pirates." On the ninth of June, the "Gaspee" ran aground off what is now Gaspee Point. Word was quickly sent to Providence, and, on the following night, a party headed by Captain Abraham Whipple and John Brown—the leading promoter of the recent Rhode Island college enterprise—boarded the vessel, set the crew on shore, and burned the hated craft to the water's edge. Thus did Rhode Island carry colonial resistance far beyond the point to which it had elsewhere attained.

Silver Goblet saved from the "Gaspee" by Captain Abraham Whipple

Tenant and Landlord

On the sixth of June, while the Massachusetts general court was still in session at Cambridge, the house again asked the governor if any provision, other than the customary legislative grant, had been made for his salary. In reply, Hutchinson informed the house that the king had made provision for his support as governor and that he could not accept a grant from the colony. In July, the house, in an elaborate report, declared "that the governor's having and receiving his support, independent of the grants and acts of the general assembly, is a dangerous innovation, which renders him a governor not dependent on the people, as the charter has prescribed, and consequently not, in that respect, such a governor as the people consented to at the granting thereof;" and entered a solemn protest against the "innovation." When, a few days later, the governor called the attention of the house to the "ruinous state" of the executive mansion, he was informed that "that building was procured for the residence of a governor whose whole support was to be provided for by the grants and acts of the general assembly, according to the tenor of the charter;" and that, so long as he accepted a salary from the crown, no repairs would be made.

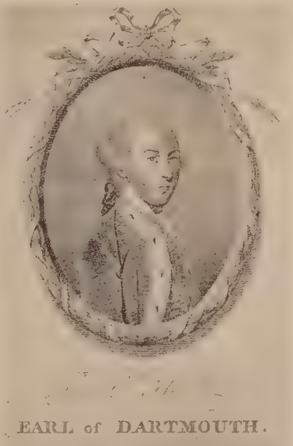
Another Step

On the seventh of August, Hillsborough wrote to

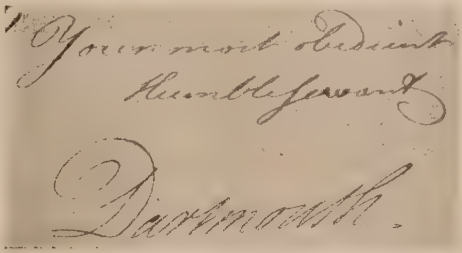
1772

Hutchinson that the king "had made provision for the support of his law servants in the Province of Massachusetts Bay." As the colonial judges held their offices at the pleasure of the king, the payment of their salaries by the crown would put them entirely beyond the reach of the popular will and tend strongly to make them dependent upon the royal favor. Hillsborough had lost influence with both king and ministry and now resigned his office as secretary of state for the colonies and became the earl of Harwick. His successor, William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, was well disposed towards America; but his education and training in public life were of the conventional English type and he distrusted the colonial leaders and their aims as heartily as did his predecessors.

Dartmouth Succeeds Hillsborough



EARL of DARTMOUTH.



Your most obedient
Humble servant
Dartmouth.

The general court was not in session when Hillsborough's letter arrived at Boston. A town-meeting was accordingly summoned and met on the twenty-eighth of October, with John Hancock as moderator. The meeting voted an address to the governor asking whether he had received any advices that the judges were henceforth to be paid by the crown; but Hutchinson, who regarded the meeting as unwarranted, declined to submit his official correspondence for its consideration. The inhabitants then voted a second address denouncing the proposed action as contrary to the charter and praying

A Boston Town-Meeting

1772 that the matter might be laid before the general court which had been prorogued to the second of December. The governor replied that he had already decided further to prorogue the court and that to do as he was now requested "would encourage other towns to determine upon the proper time for the assembly to meet, or to transact any other matters which the law has not made the business of a town meeting." The meeting unanimously voted this reply unsatisfactory and resolved that the inhabitants of Boston "have ever had, and ought to have, a right to petition the king for the redress of such grievances as they feel, or for preventing such as they have reason to apprehend, and to communicate their sentiments to other towns."

The Boston Committee of Correspondence

On the second of November, Samuel Adams, "the man of the town-meeting," moved "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province, and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject." The attendance at the town-meeting was neither unusually large nor specially enthusiastic; there was some opposition, but the motion was carried without a division. As finally constituted, the committee consisted of James Otis, Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, William Dennie, William Greenleaf, Joseph Greenleaf, Thomas Young, William Powell, Nathaniel Appleton, Oliver Wendell, John Sweetser, Josiah Quincy, John Bradford, Richard Boynton, William Mackay, Nathaniel Barber, Caleb Davis, Alexander Hill, William Molineaux, and Robert Pierpont. Although some of the members were among the best-knwon patriots in Boston, Hutchinson wrote to Pownall that the committee was in part composed of "deacons," "atheists," and "black-hearted fellows whom one would not choose to meet in the dark."

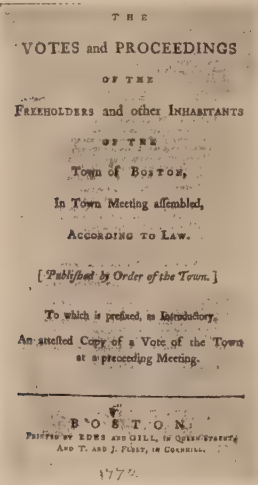
A New and Powerful Agency

Thus was launched the famous system of committees of correspondence, destined to become one of the most powerful agencies for cementing colonial union and organizing opposition to Great Britain. As far as the idea was the product of any one mind, it is to be ascribed to Adams; he and Joseph Warren were the leading spirits in the new movement. The action was entirely legal, yet it "virtually created a revolutionary legislative body" that the governor could neither dissolve nor prorogue, the acts of which he could not veto. The importance of the step was quickly realized by the friends of the crown, one of whom wrote: "This is the foulest, subtlest, and most venomous serpent ever issued from the egg of sedition." The bearing upon the question of union and independence was also obvious. On the day of the appointment of the committee, a writer in the *Boston Gazette* said: "The people in every town must instruct their representatives to send a remonstrance to the King of Great Britain, and assure him, unless their liberties are restored whole and entire, they will form an independent commonwealth, after the example of the Dutch provinces, and offer a free trade to all nations. Should any one province begin the example, the other provinces will follow; and Great Britain must comply with our demands, or sink under the united force of the French and Spaniards. This is the plan that wisdom and Providence point out to preserve our rights, and this alone."

The Report of the Committee

The committee organized with James Otis as chairman—an election that was almost wholly honorary, as Otis was incapacitated for useful service—and William Cooper, town clerk of Boston, as secretary. It was voted "not to divulge any part of the conversation at their meetings to any person whatsoever, excepting what the committee itself should make known." On the twentieth of November, an elaborate report in three parts, the work of Adams, Warren, and Church, was read by Otis to a town-meeting in Faneuil Hall. It was the boldest exposition of American grievances that had been made pub-

1772 lic and was marked alike by ability and freedom. It was printed as "The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston," and republished in England with a "Preface by the British Editor," i. e., Benjamin Franklin.



THE

VOTES and PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FREEHOLDERS and other INHABITANTS

OF THE

Town of BOSTON,

In Town Meeting aſſembled,

ACCORDING TO LAW.

[Publiſhed by Order of the Town.]

To which is prefixed, as Introductory,

An atteſted Copy of a Vote of the Town
at a preceeding Meeting.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY EDES AND GILL, IN QUEEN-STREET;
AND T. AND J. FLEET, IN CORNHILL.

1772.

Title-page of the Pamphlet by Adams, Warren, and Church

The Rights of Man

The first part, drawn by Adams, set forth the rights of the colonists "as men, as Christians, and as subjects," including "a right to life, to liberty, and to property, together with the right to support and defend them in the best manner they can." The theories of "natural rights" and "social compact," characteristic of the French social philosophy of that day and embodied later in the declaration of independence, were set forth. "All men have a right to remain in a state of nature as long as they please; and, in case of intolerable oppression, civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to, and enter into another. When men enter into society, it is by voluntary consent; and they have a right to insist upon the performance of such conditions and previous limitations as form an equitable original compact. Every natural right not expressly given up, or from the nature of a social compact necessarily ceded, remains. All positive and civil laws should conform, as far as possible, to the law of natural reason and equity."

The Rights of Subjects

As to the rights of the colonists as subjects, the report declares that "all persons born in the British American colonies are, by the laws of God and nature, and by the common law of England, exclusive of all charters from the crown, entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent, and inseparable rights, liberties, and privileges of subjects born in Great Britain, or within the realm. The legislative power is for the preservation of society; and it has no right to absolute arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of the people; nor can mortals assume a prerogative, not only too high for men, but for angels, and therefore reserved to Deity alone. An independent judiciary is likewise essential. There should be one rule of justice for rich and poor—for the favorite at court and the countryman at the plough. And the supreme power cannot justly take from any man any part of his property, without his consent in person or by his representative."

The List of Violated Rights

The "list of infringements and violations of these rights," drawn up by Warren, specifies "the assumption of absolute legislative powers; the imposition of taxes without the consent of the people; the appointment of officers unknown to the charter, supported by the income derived from such taxes; the investing these officers with unconstitutional powers, especially the 'commissioners of his Majesty's customs'; the annulment of laws enacted by the court, after the time limited for their rejection had expired; the introduction of fleets and armies into the colonies; the support of the executive and the judiciary independently of the people; the oppressive instructions sent to the governor; the extension of the powers of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty; the restriction of manufactures; the act relating to dockyards and stores, which deprived the people of the right of trial by peers of the vicinage; the attempt to 'establish an American episcopate'; and the alteration of the bounds of colonies by

Birth-place of Warren, Roxbury, Massachusetts

1772 decisions before the King and Council." The act relating to dockyards and stores, passed in consequence of the burning of the storehouses in the dockyard at Portsmouth, England, was, according to Hutchinson, erroneously supposed to have been occasioned by the burning of the "Gaspee," though actually passed by parliament before that event occurred.

Church's Letter to the Towns

The third part of the report, in the form of a letter to the towns, was the work of Church. "A free communication of your sentiments to this town, of our common danger, is earnestly solicited, and will be gratefully received. If you concur with us in opinion that our rights are properly stated, and that the several acts of Parliament and measures of administration pointed out by us are subversive of these rights, you will doubtless think it of the utmost importance that we stand firm, as one man, to recover and support them. . . . But if it should be the general voice of this province that the rights, as we have stated them, do not belong to us, or that the several measures of administration in the British court are no violations of these rights, or that, if they are thus violated or infringed, they are not worth contending for or resolutely maintaining,—should this be the general voice of the province, we must be resigned to our wretched fate. . . . But we trust this cannot be the case. We are sure your wisdom, your regard to yourselves and the rising generation, cannot suffer you to doze, or sit supinely indifferent on the brink of destruction, while the iron hand of oppression is daily tearing the choicest fruit from the fair tree of liberty, planted by our worthy predecessors at the expense of their treasure, and abundantly watered with their blood."

A Grand Rally

The response from the towns was prompt and general. Plymouth, the first town to choose a committee of correspondence in accordance with the suggestion of Boston, wrote that "we esteem it a virtue to oppose tyranny in all its forms, and will use our utmost endeavors to extricate ourselves from every dangerous and oppressive innovation." Abington declared that "we view ourselves under indispensable obligations to give our testimony against all those arbitrary and despotic innovations which have lately taken place in the province." Cambridge "discovered a glorious spirit like men determined to be free." Roxbury felt that the rights of the colonists were "fully supported and warranted by the laws of God and Nature, the Old Testament, and the Charter of the Province." The fisher folk of Marblehead expressed "their unavoidable disesteem and reluctant irreverence for the British Parliament," and "detested the name of Hillsborough." Ipswich urged "that the Colonies in general and the inhabitants of their Province in particular should stand firm as one man, to support and maintain all their just rights and privileges." Concord voted that "no power on earth can, agreeably to our constitution, take from us our rights, or any part of them, without our consent." Newton "greatly applauded" the action of Boston adding that "as far as in us lies, we would encourage your hearts to persevere." The Boston papers printed reports of the proceedings of the towns as fast as they were received, until eighty had been published.

Hutchinson's Speech to the General Court

Hutchinson was "greatly alarmed with so sudden and unexpected a change in the state of affairs," and "greatly perplexed with doubts concerning his own conduct upon the occasion." If he sat still, "he had reason to think that he should bring upon himself a charge of conniving at proceedings" that he ought "to have checked, by every means in his power." On the other hand, he knew from experience that if he met the assembly "he must bring on an altercation, which they would profess themselves desirous of avoiding; and that they would charge him with raising a flame in the province, under pretense of endeavoring to suppress it." His sense of duty led him to choose the latter alternative. In his speech to the two houses at the opening of the session, he once more elaborated on the constitutional relations between the colonies and Great Britain, and the happiness and prosperity of Massachusetts while the authority of the mother country had remained unquestioned. Of

January 6, 1773

1773 late, however, "a number of inhabitants, in several of the principal towns in the province, . . . have passed resolves, which they have ordered to be placed upon their town records, and caused to be printed and published in pamphlets and newspapers." For the claims asserted in these resolves, or "the measures taken in consequence of them," he could find no justification. "I know of no line that can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies."

The Answer of the Council January 25

The reply of the council, prepared by a committee of which James Bowdoin was chairman, declared that, "though we do not approve of some of their resolves, we think they had a clear right to instruct their representatives in any subject they apprehended to be of sufficient importance to require it." The right of parliament to lay taxes of any kind upon the colony was, however, emphatically denied, and a seeking for independence was expressly disclaimed. "It would give us the highest satisfaction to see happiness and tranquillity restored to the colonies, and especially to see, between Great Britain and them, an union established on such an equitable basis as neither of them shall ever wish to destroy."

The Answer of the House

The reply of the house of representatives was prepared by a committee of which Samuel Adams was chairman. The report, dated January 26, was the longest and most detailed statement of the patriot position that these stormy years had produced. The charters of the several colonies in America were examined to show that the colonies were not considered as included within the realm of England, but that they were appanages of the crown and, hence, not subject to parliamentary regulation. If "no line can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies," the consequence must be "either that the colonies are the vassals of the Parliament, or that they are totally independent." As the drawing of such a line would be "an arduous under-

1773

taking, and of very great importance to all the other colonies, . . . we should be unwilling to propose it, without their consent in Congress"—a significant suggestion of colonial union.

Judicial Salaries

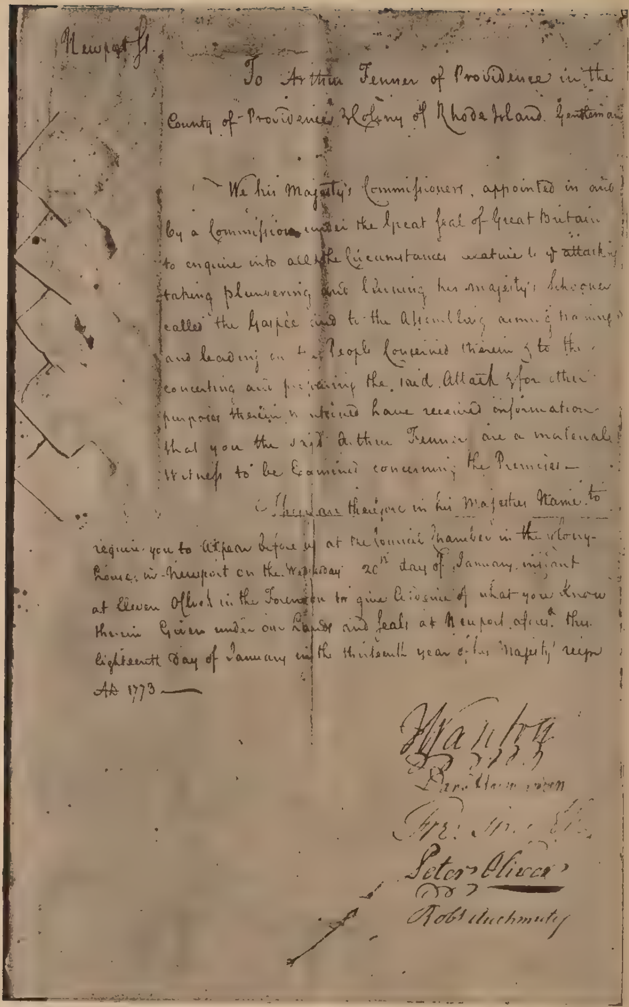
In Hutchinson's opinion, the answer of the house was "plausible and, in many parts of it, ingeniously adapted to the great purpose of obtaining the voice of the people; but it abounded with duplicity and inconclusive reasonings." The governor's lengthy reply to the statements of the general court added little to the argument and, of course, did not heal the breach. Then the house inquired why the assent of the governor had not been given to the grants for judicial salaries, and Hutchinson replied that provision for such salaries had been made by the crown. Thereupon the house expressed the earnest hope "that the justices will utterly refuse even to accept of support in a manner so justly obnoxious to the disinterested and judicious part of the good people of this province." The controversy terminated with the passage by the house of resolutions again condemning the acceptance of judicial salaries from the crown and closing with the significant declaration that any one of the justices of the superior court "who shall accept of and depend upon the pleasure of the crown for his support . . . will discover to the world . . . that he is an enemy to the constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of an arbitrary government in the province." The salary grants were made, but they were not approved by the governor.

February 3

March 3

The "Gaspee" Inquiry

The act for the protection of dockyards and stores, already referred to, provided for the trial in England of persons charged with offenses under the act. A royal order of the fourth of September, 1772, directed the arrest of those who were concerned in the burning of the "Gaspee" and their delivery to Admiral Montagu for transportation to England. To any one who would turn state's evidence, a reward of five hundred pounds with pardon was offered. A commission of inquiry, composed of Montagu, the vice-admiralty judge at Boston, the



Newport ss.

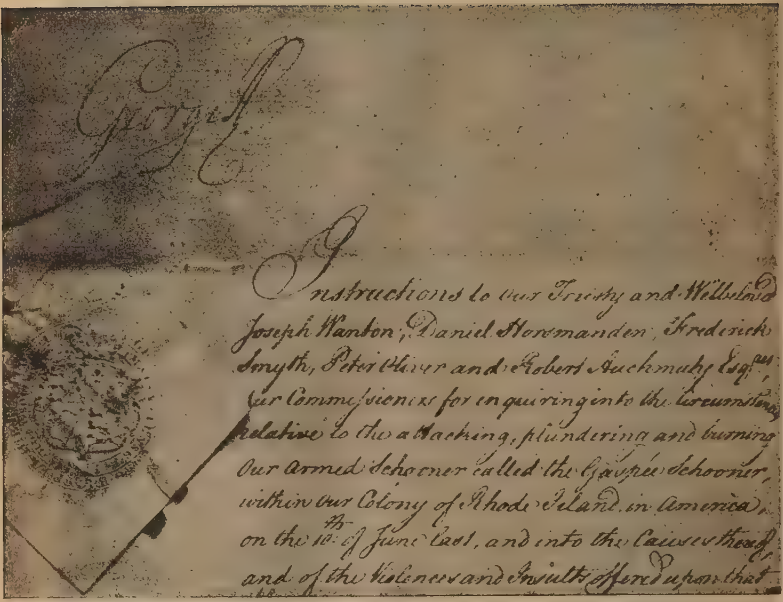
To Arthur Fenner of Providence in the County of Providence Colony of Rhode Island Gentleman

We his Majesty's Commissioners, appointed in and by a Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain to enquire into all the Circumstances relative to attacking, taking plundering and burning his Majesty's Schooner called the Gaspee and to the Assembling arming training and leading on the People Concerned therein & to the concerting and preparing the said Attack & for other purposes therein mentioned have received information that you the said Arthur Fenner are a material Witness to be Examined concerning the Premises —

These are therefore in his Majesties Name to require you to Appear before us at the Council Chamber in the Colony-House in Newport on the Wednesday 20th day of January instant at Eleven O'Clock in the Forenoon to give Evidence of what you know therein Given under our Hands and Seals at Newport aforesd this Eighteenth Day of January in the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign AD 1773 —

J Wanton
Danl Horsmanden
Fred: Smyth
Peter Oliver
Robt Auchmuty

SUMMONS TO ARTHUR FENNER TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COMMITTEE TO TESTIFY REGARDING THE BURNING OF THE "GASPEE"



George R.

Instructions to Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Joseph Wanton; Daniel Horsmanden; Frederick Smyth, Peter Oliver and Robert Auchmuty Esq^{rs}; Our Commissioners for enquiring into the Circumstan relative to the attacking, plundering and burning Our armed Schooner called the Gaspée Schooner, within our Colony of Rhode Island in America, on the 10th of June last, and into the Causes thereof, and of the Violences and Insults offered upon that

occasion to our Officers employed in our Service. Given at Our Court at S^{t}. James's the Fourth day of September 1772. In the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

ARTICLE 1st: With these Our Instructions you will receive Our Commission under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, constituting and appointing you Our Commissioners for enquiring into and making Report to Us of all the Circumstances relative to the attacking, plundering and burning the Gaspée Schooner on the Tenth of June last in the Narraganset River within Our Colony of Rhode Island, and to the assembling, arming and leading on the Persons who made the said Attack, and to the concerting and preparing the same; together with all such other Powers and Authorities as are judged necessary for that purpose; You are therefore to take upon you the execution of the Trust reposed in you, and so soon as three or more of you shall have been assembled at Newport within Our said Colony of Rhode Island, you are to cause Our said Commission to be read and published in such manner and form, and with such Solemnity, as are due to the Authority from which it proceeds, and the Important Occasion on which it is issued, using your own discretions as to all such other times and places of your Meetings, according to what shall appear to you, or the major part of you, to be most fit and proper.

2^{d}: You are to use your utmost Care and Diligence pursuant to the Authorities and Directions contained in Our said Commission in making a very full and particular Enquiry into all the Circumstances relative to the attacking, plundering and destroying Our armed Schooner the Gaspée on the Tenth of June last in the Narraganset River within Our said Colony of Rhode Island, and to the assembling, arming and leading on the Persons who made the said Attack, as also into the Causes and occasions thereof, and into all the Steps that have been taken by the Civil Magistrates in their respective Stations, for the discovery & punishment of the Perpetrators of those heinous Offences, and to those ends you are to summon before you all such Persons as you shall think may be able to give any Information touching the said Objects of Enquiry, and likewise to order all Informations, Depositions or Examinations, which may have been taken & made in Writing touching those Matters, or authentic Copies thereof, to be laid before you, and to make Report to Us, by one of our Principal Secretaries of State, of all your Proceedings, and of what shall appear to you respecting the Conduct of the Magistrates and People of Rhode Island on that occasion.

ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSIONERS APPOINT

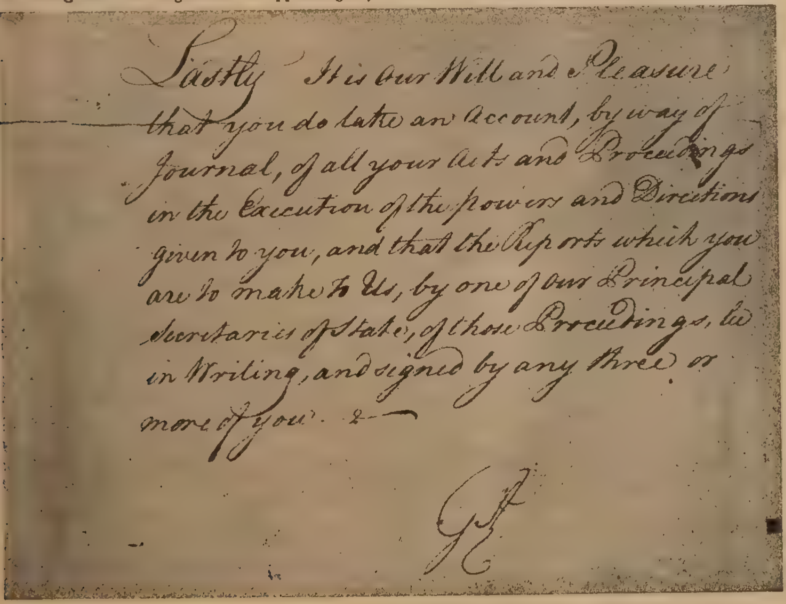
(We show the beginning and end of this document in f

From original deposited in the offic

3d: And Whereas the Civil Magistrates and Officers within Our said Colony of Rhode Island are entrusted with the power and Authority to arrest and commit to Custody such of the Persons concerned in the plundering and destroying the Gaspée Schooner, and in the inhuman Treatment of Our Officer who commanded her, against whom any Information shall be taken in order to the said Offenders being sent to England to be tried for that Offence; It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that you do, from time to time, communicate to the said Civil Officers and Magistrates such Informations as you shall be able to collect touching the Persons concerned in that daring Attack upon our Authority and Commission, to the end that they may be accordingly arrested and delivered to the Custody of the Commander in Chief of Our Ships and Vessels in North America, pursuant to such Directions as We have thought fit to give for that purpose.

4th: And Whereas it is of Importance, with regard to the mode of proceeding against the said Offenders that they should be exactly informed of the Place where the Offence was committed, it will therefore be your Duty to take care in all your proceedings upon this Enquiry as well as in your Reports thereof to Us, by one of our Principal Secretaries of State, to ascertain with the greatest precision whether the Offence was committed and done within the Body of the Colony, and if so, within what County or District thereof, and if not so in what other place the said Offence was committed and done.

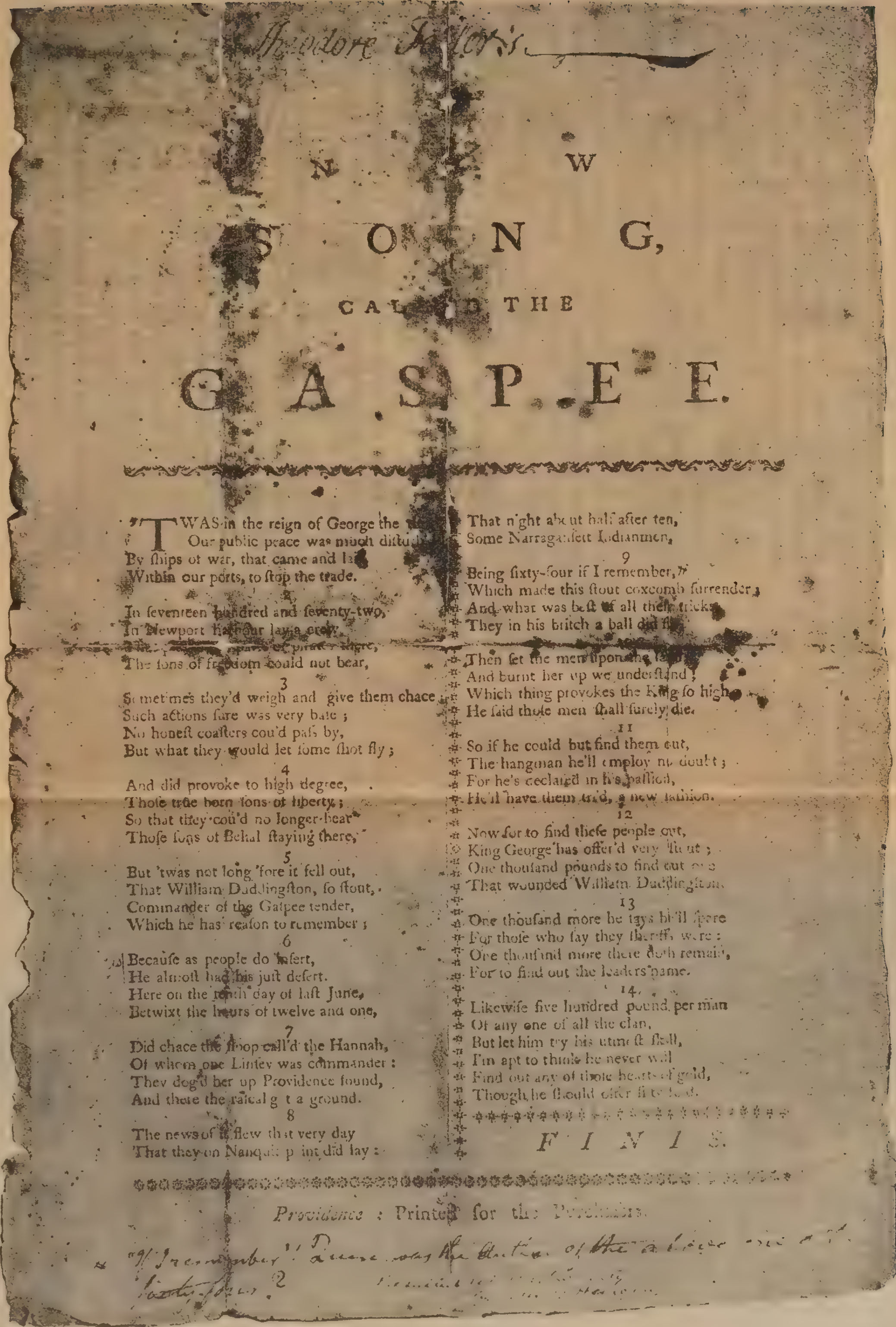
5th: And Whereas there may be reason to apprehend, from the outrages which have been committed within Our said Colony of Rhode Island by numbers of lawless Persons, that Insults may be offered to you, It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that if any Disturbance shall arise with a view to obstruct you in the Execution of your Duty, and any Violence should, in consequence thereof, be offered to you, you do in such Case give immediate Notice thereof to the Commander in Chief of our Forces in North America, & require of him to send such a Military Force into the Colony as you shall judge necessary for your protection, & for aiding the Civil Magistrates in suppressing any Tumults or Riots, and preserving the public Peace.



Lastly It is Our Will and Pleasure that you do take an Account, by way of Journal, of all your Acts and Proceedings in the Execution of the powers and Directions given to you, and that the Reports which you are to make to Us, by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, of those Proceedings, be in Writing, and signed by any three or more of you. 2—

GR

o INVESTIGATE THE BURNING OF THE "GASPEE"
e (reduced) and printed copy of the intervening portion)
he Secretary of State, Providence



Theodore Foster's

A NEW SONG, CALLED THE GASPEE.

'TWAS in the reign of George the [illegible]
Our public peace was much diſtu[illegible]
By ſhips of war, that came and la[illegible]
Within our ports, to ſtop the trade.

In ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-two,
In Newport harbour lay a crew,
[illegible] of pirates there,
The ſons of freedom could not bear,

3
Sometimes they'd weigh and give them chace;
Such actions ſure was very baſe;
No honeſt coaſters cou'd paſs by,
But what they would let ſome ſhot fly;

4
And did provoke to high degree,
Thoſe true born ſons of liberty;
So that they cou'd no longer bear
Thoſe ſons of Belial ſtaying there,

5
But 'twas not long 'fore it fell out,
That William Duddingſton, ſo ſtout,
Commander of the Gaſpee tender,
Which he has reaſon to remember;

6
Becauſe as people do aſſert,
He almoſt had his juſt deſert.
Here on the tenth day of laſt June,
Betwixt the hours of twelve and one,

7
Did chace the ſloop call'd the Hannah,
Of whom one Lindſey was commander:
They dog'd her up Providence ſound,
And there the raſcal got a ground.

8
The news of it flew that very day
That they on Namquit point did lay:
That night about half after ten,
Some Narraganſett Indianmen,

9
Being ſixty-four if I remember,
Which made this ſtout coxcomb ſurrender;
And what was beſt of all their tricks,
They in his britch a ball did fix.

Then ſet the men upon the land,
And burnt her up we underſtand;
Which thing provokes the King ſo high
He ſaid thoſe men ſhall ſurely die.

11
So if he could but find them out,
The hangman he'll employ no doubt;
For he's declared in his paſſion,
He'll have them try'd a new faſhion.

12
Now for to find theſe people out,
King George has offer'd very ſtout;
One thouſand pounds to find out one
That wounded William Duddingſton.

13
One thouſand more he ſays he'll ſpare
For thoſe who ſay they ſheriffs were;
One thouſand more there doth remain,
For to find out the leaders name.

14
Likewiſe five hundred pound per man
Of any one of all the clan,
But let him try his utmoſt ſkill,
I'm apt to think he never will
Find out any of thoſe hearts of gold,
Though he ſhould offer fifty fold.

F I N I S.

Providence: Printed for the Purchaſers.

"If I remember" [illegible] of the [illegible]
[illegible] 2 [illegible]

Ballad on the Burning of the "Gaspee"
From original in collection of the Rhode Island Historical Society

chief-justices of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, and the governor of Rhode Island, was appointed. When the Rhode Island general assembly met at East Greenwich, the governor laid before them his instructions to send the offenders to England. When Stephen Hopkins, the chief-justice of Rhode Island, asked for instructions, he was told to exercise his discretion. "Then," said he, "for the purpose of transportation for trial, I will neither apprehend any person by my own order, nor suffer any executive officers in the colony to do it." The inquiry of the commission was fruitless; no one was arrested; "no one could be found who knew anything about the matter, more than if it had been a case of spontaneous combustion."

A Colonial Committee of Correspondence

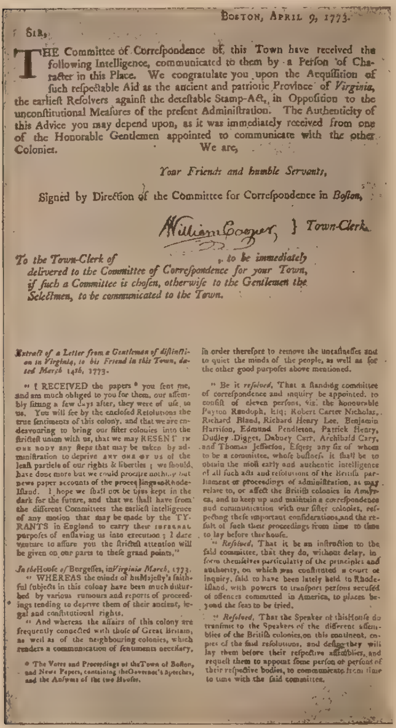
The Virginia house of burgesses met on the fourth of March, 1773, and, having no pressing grievance of its own to deal with, turned its attention to Rhode Island. Some of its members, among them Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and Dabney Carr, met at the Raleigh Tavern to consider what should be done. "All were sensible," wrote Jefferson later, "that the most urgent of all measures was that of coming to an understanding with all the other colonies to consider the British claims as a common cause to all, and to produce a unity of action; and, for this purpose, that a committee of correspondence in each colony would be the best instrument for intercommunication." On the twelfth, resolutions were unanimously adopted by the house for the appointment of a committee of eleven persons, "to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies, respecting these important considerations; and the result of such their proceedings, from time to time, to lay before this House." The "principles and authority" on which the "Gaspee" court of inquiry was established were to be particularly inquired into. Governor Botetourt had died in 1770. His successor, Lord Dunmore, now hastily prorogued the house, but the members met and, framing a circular letter to the speakers of the several assemblies, sped the resolutions on their way.

1773

With the adoption of the Virginia plan by other colonies, the laying of the foundations of colonial union may be regarded as well begun. The local committees of Massachusetts, though reaching to the limits of that province, had not yet been imitated elsewhere. The establishment of colonial, as well as local, committees throughout the country must necessarily go before the union of which some had dreamed and about which a few had ventured to talk. The Boston committee sent printed copies of the Virginia resolves to all the towns, "to gladden the hearts of all who are friends of liberty;" and Samuel Adams hoped for "the hearty concurrence of every assembly on the continent." To Massachusetts and Virginia belongs the honor of furnishing the two component parts of this weapon of agitation. Virginia had seized the opportune moment; gratifying responses quickly came from the

Colonial Union on the Way

Six Coöperating Colonies



BOSTON, APRIL 9, 1773.

SIR,

THE Committee of Correſpondence of this Town have received the following Intelligence, communicated to them by a Perſon of Character in this Place. We congratulate you upon the Acquiſition of ſuch reſpectable Aid as the ancient and patriotic Province of *Virginia*, the earlieſt Reſolvers againſt the deteſtable Stamp-Act, in Oppoſition to the unconſtitutional Meaſures of the preſent Adminiſtration. The Authenticity of this Advice you may depend upon, as it was immediately received from one of the Honorable Gentlemen appointed to communicate with the other Colonies. We are,

Your Friends and humble Servants,

Signed by Direction of the Committee for Correſpondence in *Boſton*,

William Cooper, } *Town-Clerk.*

To the Town-Clerk of , *to be immediately delivered to the Committee of Correſpondence for your Town, if ſuch a Committee is choſen, otherwiſe to the Gentlemen the Selectmen, to be communicated to the Town.*

Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman of diſtinction in Virginia, to his Friend in this Town, dated March 14th, 1773.

" I RECEIVED the papers * you ſent me, and am much obliged to you for them, our aſſembly ſitting a few days after, they were of uſe to us. You will ſee by the encloſed Reſolutions the true ſentiments of this colony, and that we are endeavouring to bring our ſiſter colonies into the ſtricteſt union with us, that we may RESENT IN ONE BODY any ſteps that may be taken by adminiſtration to deprive ANY ONE OF US of the leaſt particle of our rights & liberties; we ſhould have done more but we could procure nothing but news paper accounts of the proceedings of Rhode-Iſland. I hope we ſhall not be thus kept in the dark for the future, and that we ſhall have from the different Committees the earlieſt intelligence of any motion that may be made by the TYRANTS in England to carry their INFERNAL purpoſes of enſlaving us into execution; I dare venture to aſſure you the ſtricteſt attention will be given on our parts to theſe grand points."

In the Houſe *of* Burgeſſes, *in Virginia March*, 1773.

" WHEREAS the minds of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in this colony have been much diſturbed by various rumours and reports of proceedings tending to deprive them of their ancient, legal and conſtitutional rights.

" And whereas the affairs of this colony are frequently connected with thoſe of Great Britain, as well as of the neighbouring colonies, which renders a communication of ſentiments neceſſary, in order therefore to remove the uneaſineſſes and to quiet the minds of the people, as well as for the other good purpoſes above mentioned.

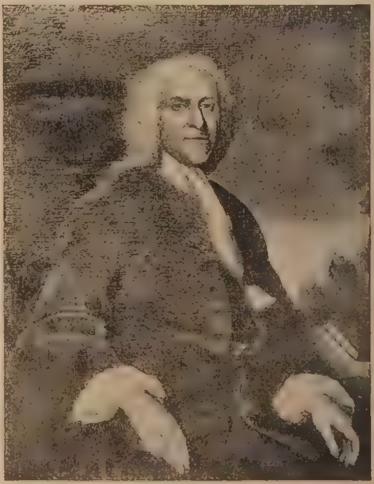
" Be it *reſolved*, That a ſtanding committee of correſpondence and inquiry be appointed, to conſiſt of eleven perſons, viz. the honourable Peyton Randolph, Eſq; Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harriſon, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferſon, Eſqrs; any ſix of whom to be a committee, whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be to obtain the moſt early and authentic intelligence of all ſuch acts and reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament or proceedings of adminiſtration, as may relate to, or affect the Britiſh colonies in America, and to keep up and maintain a correſpondence and communication with our ſiſter colonies, reſpecting theſe important conſiderations, and the reſult of ſuch their proceedings from time to time to lay before this houſe.

" *Reſolved*, That it be an inſtruction to the ſaid committee, that they do, without delay, inform themſelves particularly of the principles and authority, on which was conſtituted a court of inquiry, ſaid to have been lately held in Rhode-Iſland, with powers to tranſport perſons accuſed of offences committed in America, to places beyond the ſeas to be tried.

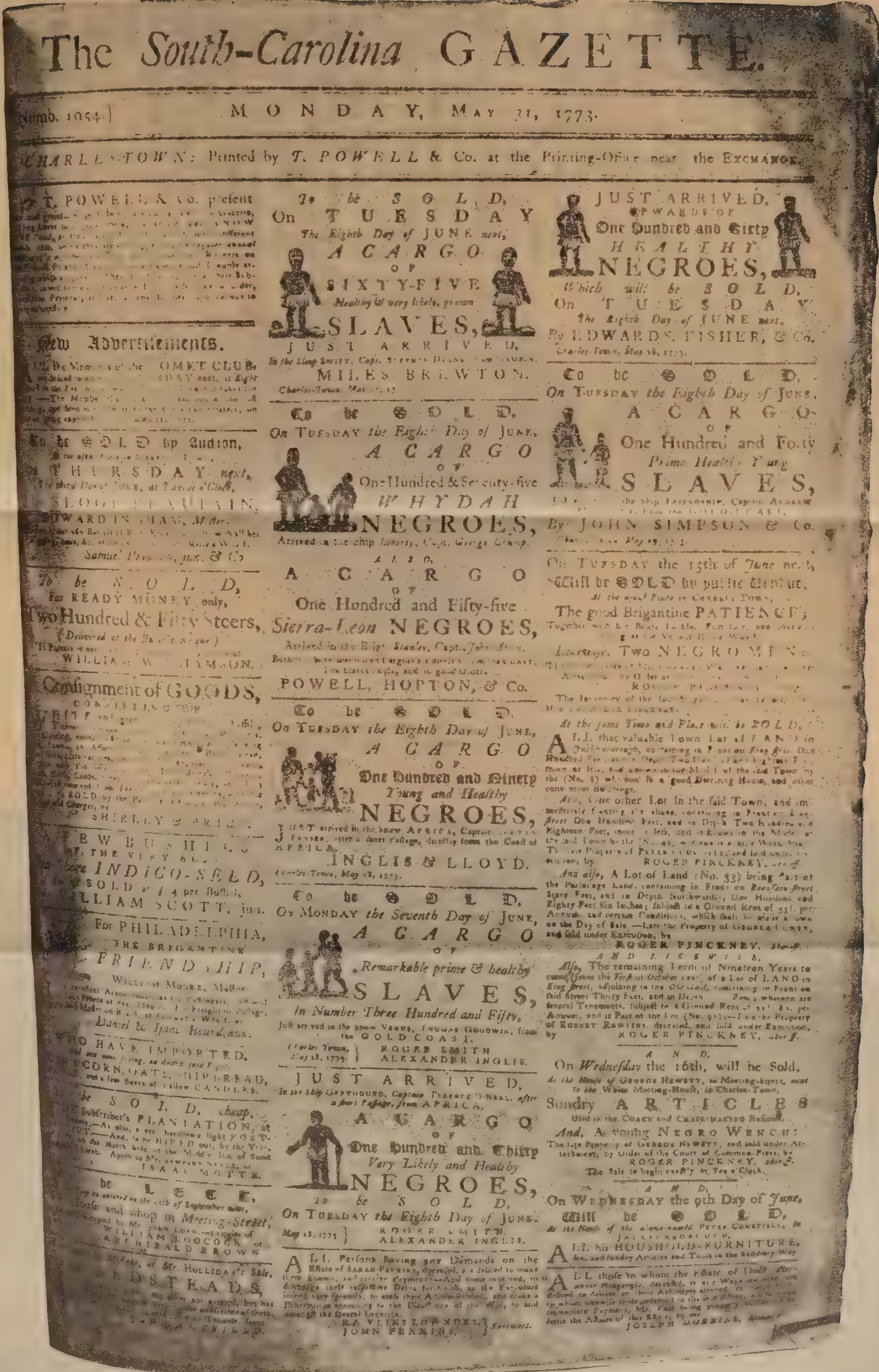
" *Reſolved*, That the Speaker of this Houſe do tranſmit to the Speakers of the different aſſemblies of the Britiſh colonies on this continent, copies of the ſaid reſolutions, and deſire they will lay them before their reſpective aſſemblies, and requeſt them to appoint ſome perſon or perſons of their reſpective bodies, to communicate from time to time with the ſaid committee.

* The Votes and Proceedings of the Town of Boſton, and News Papers, containing the Governor's Speeches, and the Anſwers of the two Houſes.

The Virginia Resolves published by the Boston Committee for Distribution in other Towns



Thomas Cushing



The South-Carolina GAZETTE.

Numb. 1954.] MONDAY, MAY 31, 1773.

CHARLES-TOWN: Printed by T. POWELL & Co. at the Printing-Office near the EXCHANGE.

T. POWELL & Co. present

New Advertisements.

ALL the Members of the COMET CLUB

To be SOLD by Auction,

THURSDAY next,

The third Day of JUNE, at Twelve o'Clock,

WARD IN MAN, Master.

Samuel Prioleau, jun. & Co.

To be SOLD,
For READY MONEY only,
Two Hundred & Fifty Steers,
(Delivered at the Buyer's Charge)

WILLIAM WILLIAMSON.

Consignment of GOODS,

SHIRLEY & PRICE.

A FEW BUSHELS OF THE VERY BEST INDICO-SEED,

SOLD at £ 4 per Bushel,

WILLIAM SCOTT, jun.

For PHILADELPHIA,
THE BRIGANTINE
FRIENDSHIP,
WILLIAM MOORE, Master

Daniel & Isaac Bourdeaux.

WHO HAVE IMPORTED,

CORN, OATS, SHIPBREAD, and a few Boxes of Tallow CANDLES.

To be SOLD, cheap,
The Subscriber's PLANTATION,

ISAAC MOTTE.

To be LET,

House and Shop in Meeting-Street,

WILLIAM LOOCOCK or ARCHIBALD BROWN.

Mr. HOLLIDAY's Sale,

BEDSTEADS,

To be SOLD,
On TUESDAY
The Eighth Day of JUNE next,
A CARGO
OF
SIXTY-FIVE
Healthy & very likely, grown
SLAVES,
JUST ARRIVED,
In the Sloop SWIFT, Capt. STEPHEN DEANE, from GAMBIA.
MILES BREWTON.
Charles-Town, May 27, 1773.

To be SOLD,
On TUESDAY the Eighth Day of JUNE,
A CARGO
OF
One Hundred & Seventy-five
WHYDAH
NEGROES,
Arrived in the ship Liberty, Capt. George Crump.

ALSO,
A CARGO
OF
One Hundred and Fifty-five
Sierra-Leon NEGROES,
Arrived in the Brig't Stanley, Capt. John Ash.

POWELL, HOPTON, & Co.

To be SOLD,
On TUESDAY the Eighth Day of JUNE,
A CARGO
OF
One Hundred and Ninety
Young and Healthy
NEGROES,
JUST arrived in the Snow AFRICA, Captain JAMES FRASER, after a short Passage, directly from the Coast of AFRICA.
INGLIS & LLOYD.
Charles-Town, May 28, 1773.

To be SOLD,
On MONDAY the Seventh Day of JUNE,
A CARGO
OF
Remarkable prime & healthy
SLAVES,
In Number Three Hundred and Fifty,
Just arrived in the Snow VENUS, THOMAS GOODWIN, from the GOLD COAST.

Charles-Town, May 28, 1773. ROGER SMITH, ALEXANDER INGLIS.

JUST ARRIVED,
In the Ship GREYHOUND, Captain TERENCE O'NEAL, after a short Passage, from AFRICA,
A CARGO
OF
One Hundred and Thirty
Very Likely and Healthy
NEGROES,
To be SOLD,
On TUESDAY the Eighth Day of JUNE.

May 28, 1773. ROGER SMITH, ALEXANDER INGLIS.

ALL Persons having any Demands on the Estate of SARAH PERKINS, deceased, are desired to make them known, and receive Payment:—And those indebted, to discharge their respective Debts forthwith, as the Executors intend very speedily, to close their Administration, and make a Distribution according to the Direction of the Will, to and amongst the several Legatees.

RAWLINS LOWNDES, JOHN PERKINS, Executors.

JUST ARRIVED,
UPWARDS OF
One Hundred and Sixty
HEALTHY
NEGROES,
Which will be SOLD,
On TUESDAY
The Eighth Day of JUNE next,
By EDWARDS, FISHER, & Co.
Charles-Town, May 26, 1773.

To be SOLD,
On TUESDAY the Eighth Day of JUNE,
A CARGO
OF
One Hundred and Forty
Prime Healthy Young
SLAVES,

By JOHN SIMPSON & Co.

On TUESDAY the 15th of June next,
Will be SOLD by public Vendue,
The good Brigantine PATIENCE;

Likewise, TWO NEGRO MEN:

At the same Time and Place will be SOLD,
ALL that valuable Town Lot of LAND in Jacksonborough,

Also, One other Lot in the said Town,

ROGER PINCKNEY, Sheriff.

And also, A Lot of Land (No. 53) being Part of the Parsonage Land, containing in Front on Beaufain-street Sixty Feet, and in Depth Northwardly, One Hundred and Eighty Feet Six Inches; subject to a Ground Rent of 53s. per Annum, and certain Conditions, which shall be made known on the Day of Sale.—Late the Property of GEORGE CROSS, and sold under Execution, by

ROGER PINCKNEY, Sheriff.

AND LIKEWISE,

Also, The remaining Term of Nineteen Years to come, from the First of October next, of a Lot of LAND in King-street, adjoining to the Old Goal, containing in Front on said Street Thirty Feet, and in Depth Feet; whereon are several Tenements, subject to a Ground Rent of Per Annum, and is Part of the Lot (No. 91):—Late the Property of ROBERT RAWLINS, deceased, and sold under Execution, by

ROGER PINCKNEY, Sheriff.

AND,
On Wednesday the 16th, will be Sold,
At the House of GEORGE HEWETT, in Meeting-street, next to the White Meeting-House, in Charles-Town,
Sundry ARTICLES
Used in the COACH and CHAIR-MAKING Business.
And, A young NEGRO WENCH:
The late Property of GEORGE HEWETT, and sold under Attachment, by Order of the Court of Common-Pleas, by
ROGER PINCKNEY, Sheriff.
The Sale to begin exactly at Ten o'Clock.

AND,
On WEDNESDAY the 9th Day of June,
Will be SOLD,
At the House of the above-named PETER COURTISELL, in JACKSONBOROUGH,
ALL his HOUSHOLD-FURNITURE, &c. and sundry Articles and Tools in the Saddlery Way.

ALL those to whom the Estate of

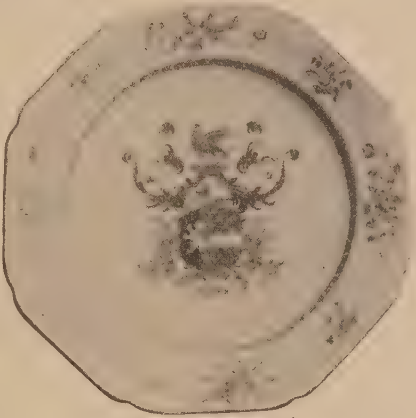
JOSEPH DOBBINS,

A PAGE FROM THE "SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE"

other colonies. The Massachusetts house of representatives expressed "a very grateful sense of the obligations they are under," heartily concurred "in their said judicious and spirited resolves," and appointed a standing committee of fifteen. Among the members were Speaker Cushing, Adams, Hancock, Hawley, Warren, and Elbridge Gerry. Rhode Island and Connecticut affirmed the necessity of union, while New Hampshire and South Carolina promised coöperation. By July, six colonies had appointed such committees and passed similar resolutions.

Hutchinson's Election Day Dinner

In Boston, the temper of the people became more and more hostile to Hutchinson and no occasion was lost to make him feel the popular displeasure. It had been the custom for the governor, on election day, to dine publicly at the town-hall with the council and such guests as he saw fit to invite. This year, however, the town-meeting resolved "that, if a committee of his Majesty's council should apply to the selectmen for the use of the hall, they should consent upon these express conditions, that neither the commissioners of the customs and their attendants, nor the officers of the army and navy, stationed here for the purpose of enforcing unconstitutional acts of Parliament by military execution, be invited." The obnoxious persons were invited, but the dinner was held elsewhere.



Dinner Plate formerly owned by Governor Thomas Hutchinson

The Private Correspondence of a Public Official

Meantime, Hutchinson had been unconsciously preparing the way for his downfall. By some means never satisfactorily explained, Benjamin Franklin came into possession of a number of letters written some years before by Thomas Hutchinson who now was governor, Andrew Oliver who now was lieutenant-governor, and others to Thomas Whately, and communicated by him to Grenville and Lord Temple. Hutchinson's letters contained frank comments on men and events, and suggestions of the steps that ought to be taken to preserve the royal authority in the colonies. Thus, when the excitement over the enforcement of the revenue act was running high, he wrote: "Principles of government absurd enough, spread thro' all the colonies; . . . the town of Boston met and passed a number of weak but very criminal votes; . . . the government has been so long in the hands of the populace that it must come out of them by degrees, at least it will be a work of time to bring the people back to just notions of the nature of government." About three months later, he wrote again: "This is most certainly a crisis. I really wish that there may not have been the least degree of severity beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain, I think I may say to you the *dependance* which a colony ought to have upon the parent state; but if no measures shall have been taken to secure this dependance, or nothing more than some declaratory acts or resolves, *it is all over with us.* The friends of government will be utterly disheartened, and the friends of anarchy will be afraid of nothing, be it ever so extravagant. . . . I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the colonies without pain. There must be an abridgement of what are called English liberties. . . . I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government in which a colony 3000 miles distant from the parent state shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state." Oliver, going further than Hutchinson, had suggested the creation of a colonial aristocracy, and Paxton, one of the commissioners of customs, had called for "two or three regiments."

October 4, 1768

January 20, 1769

Letters from Boston Sent Back to Boston

Franklin, the quick-witted agent of Massachusetts whom Hutchinson called "their great director in England," obtained permission to send the letters to Massachusetts, not for publication, but for perusal by certain of the patriot leaders there. They were accordingly forwarded to Cushing, speaker of the house, with a bitter denunciation of the authors of the letters as "mere time-servers, seeking their own private emoluments through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest not of their native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire." The letters were read by members of the general court and the committee of correspondence. John Adams had them in his possession on the twenty-second of March. "Cool, thinking, deliberate villain, malicious and vindictive, as well as ambitious and avaricious," was his comment. It was impossible that the existence of the letters should be long concealed, and rumor was soon busy with its whisperings and intimations.

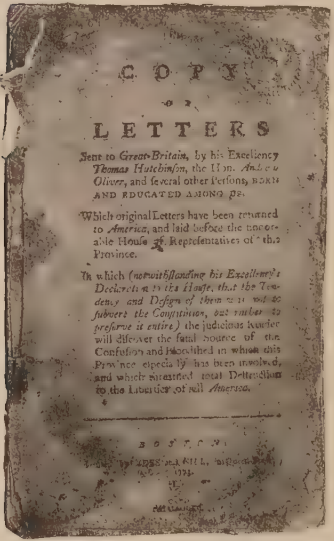
The Letters are Read in the House

On the second of June, the house of representatives being in session and the galleries having been cleared, Samuel Adams said "that he perceived the minds of the people were much agitated by a report that letters, of an extraordinary nature, had been written and sent to England, greatly to the prejudice of this province; that he had obtained certain letters, with different signatures, with the consent of the gentleman from whom he received them that they should be read in the House, under certain restrictions, namely, that the said letters be neither printed nor copied, in whole or in part." The letters were accordingly read and, after consideration, adjudged by a vote of one hundred and one to five to be of tendency and design "to overthrow the constitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province."

A Pitiful Expedient

The publication of the letters had become inevitable, but it was necessary to find an excuse for the violation of Franklin's prohibition. According to Hutchinson, "a pitiful expedient" was adopted. Hancock brought into the house certain papers that had been put into his hands by "a person in the street" and that appeared to be "copies" of the letters before the house; he moved that they "might be compared." The next day, a committee reported "that Mr. Adams had acquainted them

1773 that, as copies of the letters were already abroad and had been publickly read, the gentleman from whom the letters were received gave his consent that the house should be fully possessed of them, to print, copy, or make what other use of them they pleased, relying on the goodness of the house that the original letters be returned, in their own time, they retaining attested copies of the same for their own use." The letters were accordingly ordered to be printed. Hutchinson afterwards told the king that "the people abroad compelled their publication or would not be satisfied without it." Before they were published, however, June 16 the house passed a long series of resolves denouncing the letters and their authors; declaring that the letters must be regarded as public correspondence; that their aim and effect were to prejudice the king and parliament against the province and to aid the arbitrary measures that had lately been adopted; and that they showed that there had been, for many years, "measures contemplated and a plan formed, by a set of men born and educated among us, to raise their own fortunes . . . at the expense of the rights and liberties of the American colonies." The king was accordingly humbly prayed to remove Hutchinson and Oliver from their offices "forever." The council adopted resolutions to the same effect and the governor soon put an end to the session of the general court.



COPY

OF

LETTERS

Sent to *Great-Britain*, by his Excellency *Thomas Hutchinſon*, the Hon. *Andrew Oliver*, and ſeveral other Perſons, BORN AND EDUCATED AMONG US.

Which original Letters have been returned to *America*, and laid before the honorable Houſe of Repreſentatives of this Province.

In which (*notwithſtanding his Excellency's Declaration to the Houſe, that the Tendency and Deſign of them was not to ſubvert the Conſtitution, but rather to preſerve it entire*) the judicious Reader will diſcover the fatal Source of the Confuſion and Bloodſhed in which this Province eſpecially has been involved, and which threatned total Deſtruction to the Liberties of all *America*.

BOSTON:

Title-page of the Hutchinson Letters

It might have been In his *History of Massachusetts*, Hutchinson says: "A stand made at this time by government in England, a stop put to all legislative acts whatever by the prorogation or discontinuance of all assemblies, except for the purpose of restoring and acknowledging the constitutional subordination of the colonies; and a visitation of the colonies by lords and commoners, under the authority of parliament, before the body of the people were engaged in favour of independency, and before the union of government, or of sentiments, was perfected,—might have had the happy effect of restoring peace and quiet, or otherwise must have removed all doubts of the real designs of the leaders of the people; and, in such case, it would certainly have been good policy, either to have left the colonies to their claim of independency, or to have used the means necessary to compel to submission without delay." But the king and his ministers did not adopt any such policy; they did forsake conciliation and adopt coercion. 1773

CHAPTER IX

THE TEA EPISODE

Benjamin Franklin

FRANKLIN'S position in England made his connection with the Hutchinson letters more than ordinarily important. His European reputation as writer, scientist, and publicist exceeded that of any other American colonist. He was agent for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts, maintaining his influence with the latter colony notwithstanding his well-known liberality in religious matters. He had opposed the stamp act, but he neither expected nor favored forcible resistance to it and had little sympathy with the radical leaders who were busily stirring up hatred of England. He desired to conciliate English public opinion and anxiously sought a peaceable solution of existing difficulties. But the course of events drew him into a position where at last he could maintain the case for the colonies as strongly and plainly as any of its most enthusiastic supporters.

A Christmas Day Avowal

The publication of the Hutchinson letters made a storm in England. Public suspicion was at first directed to William Whately, brother and executor of him to whom the letters had been written. Whately turned upon a Mr. Temple whom Franklin had referred to as "our friend" and who had had access to the papers of Thomas Whately. Temple demanded satisfaction and wounded Whately in a duel. Thereupon Franklin wrote a letter to the London *Public Advertiser* exculpating both Whately and Temple and taking the whole responsibility

December 25, 1773

upon himself. He also undertook to justify his own course and insisted that the letters "were not of the nature of private letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and by the steps recommended, to widen the breach which they effected." The morality of Franklin's course in this affair has been much discussed and with much diversity of opinion.

Franklin's Examination

In August, Franklin presented to Lord Dartmouth the petition of the Massachusetts general court for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. Nothing more was heard of it until after the Christmas Day publication of Franklin's letter. If the ministry had had any suspicions as to Franklin's agency in the publication of the letters, those suspicions were now confirmed. A fortnight later, Franklin was notified that the privy council committee on plantation affairs would hold a hearing on the petition at the Cockpit on the following Tuesday. When the committee met, Franklin, representing that he had regarded the question as one of politics rather than law, asked for time to secure counsel, and the hearing was accordingly adjourned until the twenty-ninth of January. In the interval, Franklin heard rumors that he was to be arrested and imprisoned, that he was to be dismissed from office, and that his papers were to be searched; a private suit by William Whately caused him further annoyance.

January 8, 1774

Bull-baiting in the Cockpit

The scene in the Cockpit on the twenty-ninth was memorable. Courtiers filled the room, "invited," said Franklin, "as to an entertainment, and there never was such an appearance of privy councillors on any occasion, not less than thirty-five, besides an immense crowd of other auditors," among them, Burke, Bentham, and Priestley. Solicitor-general Wedderburn's speech was marred by the most violent abuse. "Nothing," he

1774 declared, "will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining [the letters] by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes, unless he stole them from the person who stole them. . . . I hope, my Lords, you will mark and brand the man for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. . . . Into what country will the fabricator of this iniquity hereafter go with unembarrassed face? Men will watch him with a jealous eye. They will hide their papers from him and lock up their escritoires. Having hitherto aspired after fame by his writings, he will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a man of letters—*homo trium literarum*.* But he not only took away those papers from one brother—he kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. Amid these tragical events, . . . here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge':

ALEXANDER BARON LOUGHBOROUGH.

Alexander Wedderburn, Baron Loughborough

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* *Homo trium literarum*, i. e., a man of three letters; by this the Romans designated a thief; *fur* is the Latin word for thief.

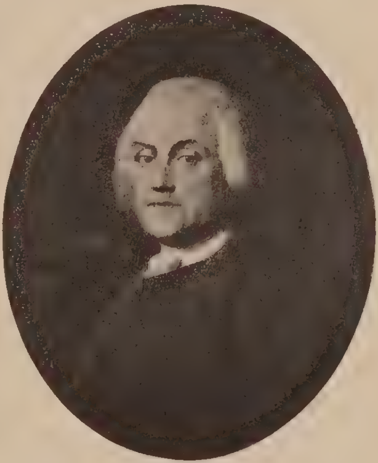
1774

'Know then, 'twas I—
I forged the letter, I disposed the picture,
I hated, I despised, and I destroy.'

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed, by poetic fiction only, to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?"

The Indecent Councilors

Wedderburn's insulting sentences were greeted with laughter and cries of "Hear him! Hear him!" from the councilors present. "The indecency of their behaviour," wrote Shelburne, "exceeded, as is agreed on all hands, that of any committee of elections." Lord North alone retained his dignity. Franklin, who stood throughout the proceedings, showed perfect composure and countenance unmoved. Wedderburn's triumph seemed complete. "Alas, Sir! We paid a pretty dear price for that triumph afterwards," said the younger Pitt. The committee voted the Massachusetts petition "false, groundless, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the province." The report was confirmed by the king in council. On the thirty-first of January, Franklin received written notice from the secretary of the general post-office, informing him that he had been dismissed from his office of deputy-postmaster-general in North America. A story that subsequently became current shows how deeply he felt the attack that had been made upon him. He wore at the meeting "a full dress suit of spotted Manchester velvet." It is said that he did not again wear that suit until, in February, 1778, he signed the treaty of alliance between the United States and France.



The "Earl Grey" Portrait of Franklin

The Tea Tax

In the meantime, a more important controversy had

1773 come to a head. Among the duties imposed by the Townshend revenue act was one of threepence a pound on tea imported into the colonies from Great Britain. When the other duties imposed by the act were repealed in 1770, that on tea was retained. The colonists, although large consumers, would not buy tea through English merchants; most of what they used was smuggled in through the Dutch East India company and other channels. The British East India company had become financially embarrassed. Partly because of the refusal of the Americans to buy, some seventeen million pounds of tea had accumulated in its warehouses. The company thereupon applied successfully to the government for a loan. In 1772, when the act of 1767 was about to expire by limitation, parliament passed an act granting a drawback of three-fifths of the import duties on tea exported to America. Still the Americans would not buy the tea and so, in May, 1773, another act was passed allowing a drawback of all the duties paid on importation into England in the case of tea exported to America. The duty of threepence a pound was retained, however, not because a revenue was expected from it, but because Lord North insisted that the principle of the declaratory act of 1766 should be asserted. The directors preferred to pay the duty in England and be freed from the threepence tax in the colonies, but the king refused to allow it. "There must be one tax," he said, "to keep up the right."

12 George III. cap. 60

13 George III. cap. 44

A Business Risk

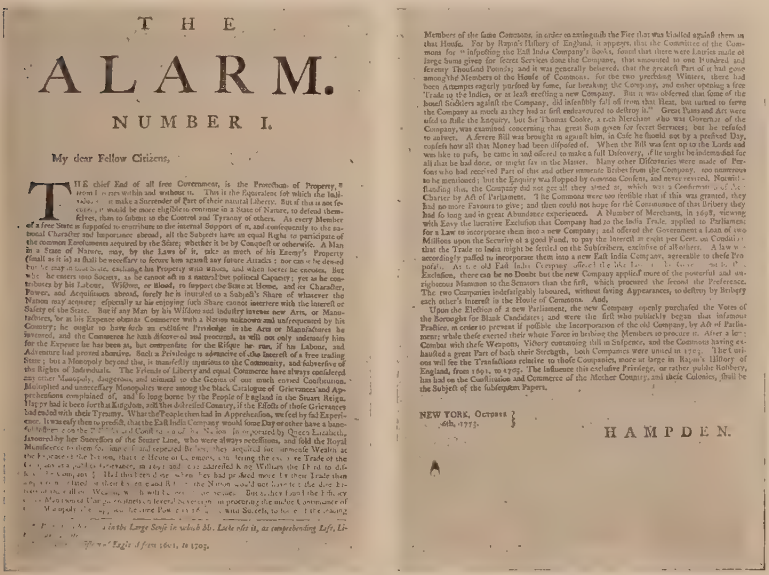
If the Americans would buy, the company was now able to sell to them at a fraction of the price of tea in England. Although warned that they could not sell their tea in the colonies, the directors of the company consigned several ship-loads of their accumulated stock to the four principal American seaports with the idea that the low price would result in successful competition with the uncustomed supply. The Americans were fond of tea; they could now buy tea lawfully at a price no greater than that of the tea that they had been buying unlawfully; but this would be an admission of the right of parliament to tax the colonies. Whatever the state of colonial opinion at the time of the stamp act, eight years of discussion had developed a well-defined opinion that the taxation of the colonies without their consent was unconstitutional. The issue as now presented must be met without evasion. 1773

A Secret Committee

The colonial leaders were quick to realize the importance of the issue and to plan for concerted action in meeting it. A writer in the *Boston Gazette* urged a congress of the colonies "for the interest of Great Britain as well as their own," and Samuel Adams repeated the proposal. "When our liberty is gone," said Adams, "history and experience will teach us that an increase of inhabitants is but an increase of slaves." The committee of correspondence advised "the confederacy of the whole continent of America." "What oppressions may we not expect in another seven years, if, through a weak credulity, while the most arbitrary measures are still persisted in,

August 2

September 13



THE

ALARM.

NUMBER I.

My dear Fellow Citizens,

THE chief End of all free Government, is the Protection of Property,* from [illegible] within and without it. This is the Equivalent for which the Individuals make a Surrender of Part of their natural Liberty. But if this is not ſecured, it would be more eligible to continue in a State of Nature, to defend themſelves, than to ſubmit to the Control and Tyranny of others. As every Member of a free State is ſuppoſed to contribute to the internal Support of it, and conſequently to the national Character and Importance abroad, all the Subjects have an equal Right to participate of the common Emoluments acquired by the State; whether it be by Conqueſt or otherwiſe. A Man in a State of Nature, may, by the Laws of it, take as much of his Enemy's Property (ſmall as it is) as ſhall be neceſſary to ſecure him againſt any future Attacks; nor can it be denied but he may in that State, exchange his Property with whom, and whenſoever he chooſes. But when he enters into Society, as he cannot act in a natural but political Capacity; yet as he contributes by his Labour, Wiſdom, or Blood, to ſupport the State at Home, and its Character, Power, and Acquiſitions abroad, ſurely he is intitled to a Subject's Share of whatever the Nation may acquire; eſpecially as his enjoying ſuch Share cannot interfere with the Intereſt or Safety of the State. But if any Man by his Wiſdom and Induſtry invents new Arts, or Manufactures, or at his Expence obtains Commerce with a Nation unknown and unfrequented by his Country; he ought to have ſuch an excluſive Privilege in the Arts or Manufactures he invented, and the Commerce he hath diſcovered and procured, as will not only indemnify him for the Expence he has been at, but compenſate for the Riſque he run, if his Labour, and Adventure had proved abortive. Such a Privilege is advancive of the Intereſt of a free trading State; but a Monopoly beyond this, is manifeſtly injurious to the Community, and ſubverſive of the Rights of Individuals. The Friends of Liberty and equal Commerce have always conſidered any other Monopoly, dangerous, and inimical to the Genius of our much envied Conſtitution. Multiplied and unneceſſary Monopolies were among the black Catalogue of Grievances and Apprehenſions complained of, and ſo long borne by the People of England in the Stuart Reign. Happy had it been for that Kingdom, and this diſtreſſed Country, if the Effects of thoſe Grievances had ended with their Tyranny. What the People then had in Apprehenſion, we feel by ſad Experience. It was eaſy then to predict, that the Eaſt India Company would ſome Day or other have a baneful Influence on the [illegible] and Conſtitution of the Nation. Incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, favoured by her Succeſſors of the Stuart Line, who were always neceſſitous, and ſold the Royal Munificence to them for [illegible] and repeated Bribes, they acquired ſuch immenſe Wealth at the Expence of the Nation, that the Houſe of Commons, conſidering the excluſive Trade of the Company as a public Grievance, in 1691 and [illegible] addreſſed King William the Third to diſſolve the Company.† Had this been done when they had profited more by their Trade than [illegible] the Nation would not have [illegible] the dire Effects of the [illegible] Wealth, which will [illegible]. But as they found the Efficacy [illegible] Mammon of [illegible] on ſeveral Sovereign[illegible] in procuring the undue Continuance of [illegible] Monopoly [illegible] the ſame Pow[illegible] with Succeſs, to [illegible] the leading

Members of the ſame Commons, in order to extinguiſh the Fire that was kindled againſt them in that Houſe. For by Rapin's Hiſtory of England, it appears, that the Committee of the Commons for "inſpecting the Eaſt India Company's Books, found that there were Entries made of large Sums given for ſecret Services done the Company, that amounted to one Hundred and ſeventy Thouſand Pounds; and it was generally believed, that the greateſt Part of it had gone among the Members of the Houſe of Commons. For the two preceding Winters, there had been Attempts eagerly purſued by ſome, for breaking the Company, and either opening a free Trade to the Indies, or at leaſt erecting a new Company. But it was obſerved that ſome of the boldeſt Sticklers againſt the Company, did inſenſibly fall off from that Heat, but turned to ſerve the Company as much as they had at firſt endeavoured to deſtroy it." Great Pains and Art were uſed to ſtifle the Enquiry, but Sir Thomas Cooke, a rich Merchant who was Governor of the Company, was examined concerning that great Sum given for ſecret Services; but he refuſed to anſwer. A ſevere Bill was brought in againſt him, in Caſe he ſhould not by a prefixed Day, confeſs how all that Money had been diſpoſed of. When the Bill was ſent up to the Lords and was like to paſs, he came in and offered to make a full Diſcovery, if he might be indemnified for all that he had done, or might ſay in the Matter. Many other Diſcoveries were made of Perſons who had received Part of this and other immenſe Bribes from the Company, too numerous to be mentioned; but the Enquiry was ſtopped by common Conſent, and never revived. Notwithſtanding this, the Company did not get all they aimed at, which was a Confirmation of their Charter by Act of Parliament. The Commons were too ſenſible that if this was granted, they had no more Favours to give; and then could not hope for the Continuance of that Bribery they had ſo long and in great Abundance experienced. A Number of Merchants, in 1698, viewing with Envy the lucrative Excluſion that Company had to the India Trade, applied to Parliament for a Law to incorporate them into a new Company; and offered the Government a Loan of two Millions upon the Security of a good Fund, to pay the Intereſt at eight per Cent. on Condition that the Trade to India might be ſettled on the Subſcribers, excluſive of all others. A law was accordingly paſſed to incorporate them into a new Eaſt India Company, agreeable to theſe Propoſals. As the old Eaſt India Company offered the like [illegible] Excluſion, there can be no Doubt but the new Company applied more of the powerful and unrighteous Mammon to the Senators than the firſt, which procured the ſecond the Preference. The two Companies indefatigably laboured, without ſaving Appearances, to deſtroy by Bribery each other's Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons. And,

Upon the Election of a new Parliament, the new Company openly purchaſed the Votes of the Boroughs for Blank Candidates; and were the firſt who publickly began that infamous Practice, in order to prevent if poſſible the Incorporation of the old Company, by Act of Parliament; while theſe exerted their whole Force in bribing the Members to procure it. After a long Combat with theſe Weapons, Victory continuing ſtill in Suſpence, and the Commons having exhauſted a great Part of both their Strength, both Companies were united in 1703. The Curious will ſee the Tranſactions relative to thoſe Companies, more at large in Rapin's Hiſtory of England, from 1691, to 1703. The Influence this excluſive Privilege, or rather public Robbery, has had on the Conſtitution and Commerce of the Mother Country, and their Colonies, ſhall be the Subject of the ſubſequent Papers.

NEW YORK, October 6th, 1773.

HAMPDEN.

* [illegible] in the Large Senſe in which Mr. Locke uſes it, as comprehending Life, Li[illegible]

† [illegible] Hiſtory of England from 1691, to 1703.

"The Alarm"—the first of a Series of Papers relative to the East India Company's Monopoly of Trade

1773 we should be prevailed upon to submit our rights, as the patriotic Farmer [John Dickinson] expresses it, to the tender mercies of the Ministry?" A month later, Adams wrote to Joseph Hawley of Northampton, one of the most influential men in western Massachusetts: "The subject matter of our complaint is, not that a burden greater than our proportion was laid upon us by Parliament; such a complaint we might have made without questioning the authority of Parliament; but that the Parliament has assumed and exercised the power of taxing us." A secret committee, composed of Adams, Cushing, and Heath, was formed and a circular letter was sent to the other colonies urging them to resist the landing of the tea.

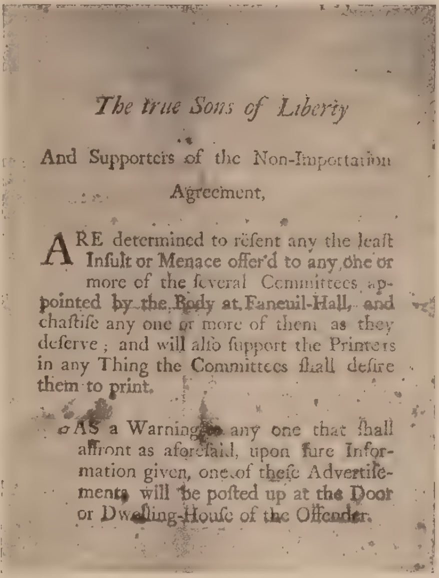
The Voice of Philadelphia

The tea had been consigned to merchants at Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Charles Town. For this purpose, these merchants became agents of the East India company. In Philadelphia, at this time the largest town in America, the opposition to the North ministry was as deep, if not so openly and radically expressed, as was that of Boston. At a public meeting October 18 at the state house, eight resolutions were adopted; they "denied the claim of Parliament to tax America; specially condemned the duty on tea; declared every one who should, directly or indirectly, countenance the attempt an enemy to his country;" and requested the agents of the East India company to resign. The agents did not wait for a second request.

Again at Boston

In response to notices posted about the town, the people of Boston met at the Liberty Tree to hear the expected resignations of the consignees of the tea. The consignees, however, failed to appear, whereupon a committee, with an attendant crowd, waited upon the consignees. November 3 Of them the committee demanded, not only the refusal of the tea, but its return to England in the ships in which it came. The consignees unanimously declined compliance and thereby enrolled themselves as "enemies to their country." Two days later, a meeting at Faneuil Hall adopted the Philadelphia resolutions;

voted “that the inhabitants of the town, by all means in their power, will prevent the sale of the teas exported by the East India Company, and that they justly expect no merchant will, on any pretence whatever, import any tea liable to the duty;” and appointed committees to wait once more on the consignees and to request them, “from a regard to their characters, and to the peace and good order of the town, immediately to resign their trust.” The consignees again refused in answers that were voted to be “daringly effrontive to the town.”



The true Sons of Liberty

And Supporters of the Non-Importation

Agreement,

ARE determined to reſent any the leaſt Inſult or Menace offer'd to any one or more of the ſeveral Committees appointed by the Body at Faneuil-Hall, and chaſtiſe any one or more of them as they deſerve; and will alſo ſupport the Printers in any Thing the Committees ſhall deſire them to print.

AS a Warning to any one that ſhall affront as aforeſaid, upon ſure Information given, one of theſe Advertiſements will be poſted up at the Door or Dwelling-Houſe of the Offender.

A Warning issued by the Sons of Liberty

The Tea-ships Expected

Authentic information of the sailing of the tea-ships, and of their probably early arrival, was received in Boston on the seventeenth of November. The next day, another town-meeting was held and the consignees were once more asked to resign. The consignees replied that the commercial engagements entered into on their behalf by the company in England left them no power to resign. To the dismay of the consignees, the town-meeting abruptly dissolved itself; the matter was now in the hands of the committee of correspondence. Hutchinson was greatly disturbed. He knew that no aid was to be expected from the council and doubted his ability to protect either the persons or the property of the consignees. Moreover, he held that if the ships passed the castle in the

1773 harbor, they could not lawfully pass out again without a permit, and that to grant such permit without the cargo having been discharged was, under the acts of trade, beyond his power. He therefore advised that the ships anchor below the castle, and await orders.

Other Towns Stand by Boston

On the twenty-second, the committees of correspondence of Cambridge, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, and Boston met and unanimously voted to use their joint influence to prevent the landing and sale of the tea. Letters were sent to the other Massachusetts towns, asking advice as to submission or resistance. On the twenty-sixth, the people of Cambridge voted that, since the town of Boston was "struggling for the liberties of their country," "this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston and other towns in any measure that may be thought proper to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." On the following day, resolutions of the same spirited character were adopted by Charlestown. The consignees, meantime, had petitioned Hutchinson to take charge of the tea and thus enable them to relinquish, in form at least, their dangerous trust; they further agreed "to take no steps toward the sale of the tea without permission from the governor and council." As Hutchinson could reach no agreement with the council, the meeting was adjourned from Saturday, the twenty-sixth of November, to the following Monday.

The Arrival of the Tea-ship

On Sunday, the ship "Dartmouth," with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, arrived in Boston harbor and anchored below the castle. The selectmen of the town and the committee of correspondence at once met. Francis Rotch, a Quaker who owned the "Dartmouth," agreed not to enter his ship until Tuesday. A mass-meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and the surrounding towns was called for Monday. The five thousand who came filled Faneuil Hall to overflowing and adjourned to the Old South meeting-house. On motion of Samuel Adams, it was unanimously resolved that "the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came, at all events, and that no duty should be paid on it." 1773 The consignees were given until the next morning to consider what they would do and a guard of twenty-five men was appointed to watch the ship during the night.

The consignees again protested that they had no power to return the tea, but offered to store it under the supervision of a committee until advices could be received from the East India company. The offer was rejected as unsatisfactory. The sheriff of Suffolk County, arriving with a proclamation from the governor ordering the meeting to disperse, was greeted with hisses; by a unanimous vote, the meeting continued its session. The owner and the captain of the "Dartmouth" were compelled to bring the vessel to a designated wharf and to promise that the tea should be returned without unloading or payment of duty. Similar pledges were exacted for the other two ships the arrival of which was daily expected. The guard over the ships was continued and it was voted "that if any person or persons shall hereafter import tea from Great Britain, or if any master or masters of any vessel or vessels in Great Britain shall take the same on board, to be imported to this place, until the unrighteous [tea] act shall be repealed, he or they shall be deemed by this body an enemy to his country; and we will prevent the landing and sale of the same, and the payment of any duty thereon, and will effect the return thereof to the place from whence it shall come." The consignees took refuge in the castle.

Old South Meeting-house, from Price's View taken from the plate of 1743 in possession of Dr. James B. Ryer

The Exacted Pledges

To insure united action, reports of what had been done were sent to all the towns in the province; to guard

An Unambiguous Notice

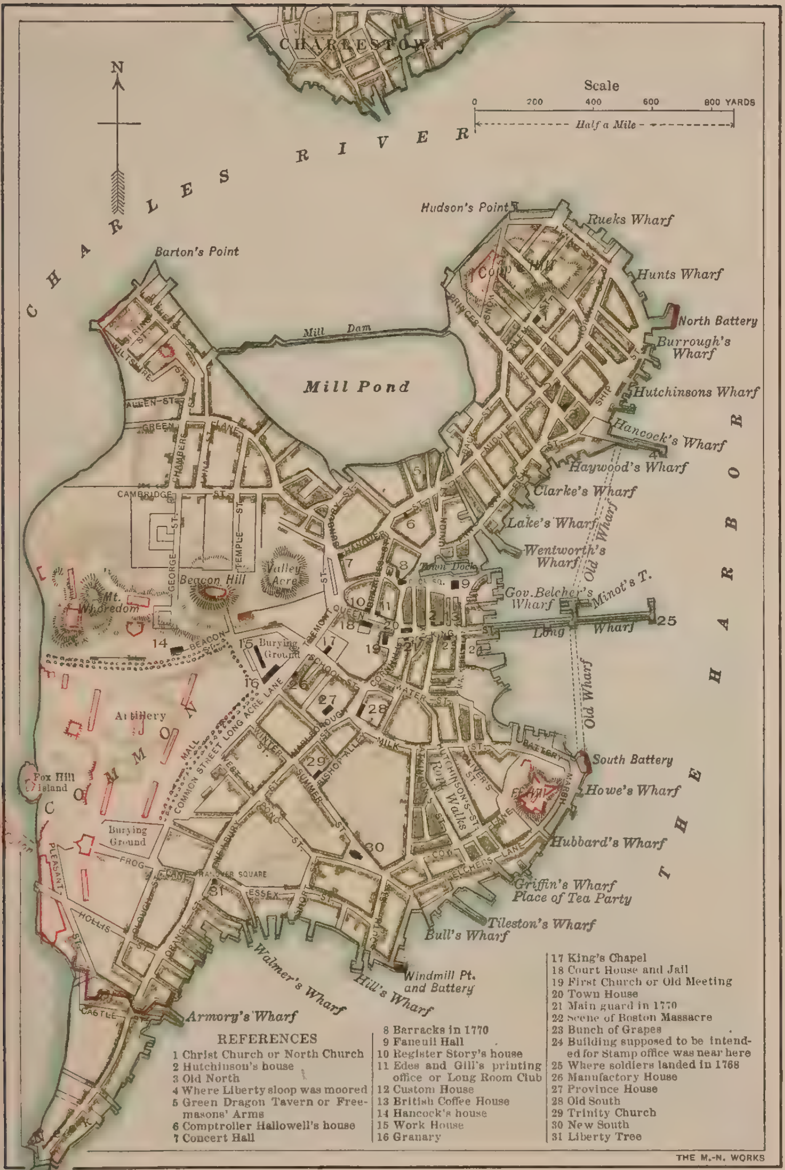
1773 against surprise, a military watch was kept at night and six post-riders were held in readiness to notify the country towns. When the other two tea-ships arrived, they were compelled to lie beside the "Dartmouth" where all three were kept under guard. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania were informed of the proceedings, and their advice and coöperation were solicited. Notices were posted about the town reminding the public of the vote of the town-meeting "that the said tea never should be landed in this province, or pay one farthing of duty," and declaring that "as the aiding, or assisting, in procuring, or granting, any such permit for landing the said tea, or any other tea so circumstanced, or in offering any permit, when obtained, to the master or commander of the said ship, or any other ship in the same situation, must betray 'an inhuman thirst for blood,' and will also, in a great measure, accelerate confusion and civil war; this is to assure such publick enemies of this country, that they will be considered and treated as wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the first victims of our resentment."

Between the Devil and the Sea

The situation was certainly difficult for the consignees. If the tea was landed, it was sure to be seized and destroyed; until it was landed, the collector could not grant clearance papers for its return to England; if the vessels attempted to sail without a clearance, they would probably be stopped by the ships of war in the harbor; and failure to enter the tea and to pay the duty within twenty days of its arrival would subject both the vessels and their cargoes to seizure.

Seeking a Clearance Permit

On Saturday, the eleventh of December, Rotch was summoned before the committee of correspondence to explain why he had not sent the "Dartmouth" back to England, as he had agreed to do. He replied that it was impossible. On the following Tuesday, a Boston mass-meeting that was attended by many from the neighboring towns, forced Rotch to apply to the collector of customs for a clearance, Adams and others accompanying him to support the application. The col-



REFERENCES

1 Christ Church or North Church
2 Hutchinson's house
3 Old North
4 Where Liberty sloop was moored
5 Green Dragon Tavern or Freemasons' Arms
6 Comptroller Hallowell's house
7 Concert Hall
8 Barracks in 1770
9 Faneuil Hall
10 Register Story's house
11 Edes and Gill's printing office or Long Room Club
12 Custom House
13 British Coffee House
14 Hancock's house
15 Work House
16 Granary
17 King's Chapel
18 Court House and Jail
19 First Church or Old Meeting
20 Town House
21 Main guard in 1770
22 Scene of Boston Massacre
23 Bunch of Grapes
24 Building supposed to be intended for Stamp office was near here
25 Where soldiers landed in 1768
26 Manufactory House
27 Province House
28 Old South
29 Trinity Church
30 New South
31 Liberty Tree

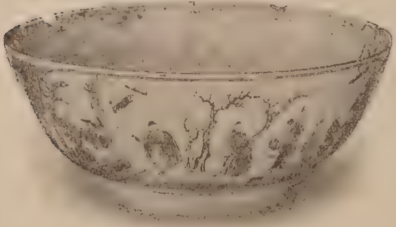
MAP OF BOSTON, 1765–75, SHOWING PLACES OF INTEREST
(Compiled by David Maydole Matteson, A. M.)

1773 lector delayed answer until the next day when he refused to issue the clearance unless the tea was first discharged.

December 16 On Thursday, the meeting reassembled at the Old South meeting-house, sent Rotch to the governor's country-seat at Milton to ask for the desired permit, and took a recess. When the meeting reconvened at three o'clock, Rotch had not returned. The crisis was evidently approaching, Josiah Quincy counselled moderation, but the people were with Adams and unanimously voted that the tea should not be landed. The question, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?" was received with tumultuous applause.

The Boston Tea-Party

It was dark before Rotch returned from Milton. When he reported that Hutchinson had refused to grant a permit, Adams arose and quietly said: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country!" There was a momentary silence; then, with a shout of "Hurrah for Griffin's wharf!" from the gallery and a war-whoop at the door, the crowd rushed for the wharf. There forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, with guards posted to prevent interference, boarded the ships, and, in two or three hours, emptied into the harbor the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, valued at about eighteen thousand pounds sterling. There was no delay or confusion and very little noise. The smoothness of the performance suggests a master playwright and frequent rehearsals. When the work had been completed, the crowd quietly dispersed, and, before daybreak, Paul Revere was riding post to Philadelphia with "the glorious news that Boston had at last



Punch Bowl used by the Boston "Tea-Party" on the Afternoon before the Tea was thrown Overboard

China Tea-caddy, which holds some of the Tea found in the Pockets and Boots of Colonel John Crane

George Robert Twelves Hewes, Member of the Boston Tea-Party

thrown down the gauntlet for the king to pick up." Lists of "The Indians," compiled from family traditions, have been printed, but an authoritative answer to the oft-asked question, "Who emptied the tea?" has not yet been given.

Its Character

Some English historians have quite failed to apprehend the significance of the incident. Lecky speaks of the "tea riot at Boston" as "an outrage," and Green alludes to it as a "trivial riot." The "tea-party" was not a riot; it was not at all like a riot. Hutchinson rightly characterized it as "the boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America." John Adams declared that "this is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the patriots, that I greatly admire." In his judgment, the destruction of the tea was "absolutely and indispensably" necessary. "There was no other alternative but to destroy it or let it be landed." John Fiske's judgment

Thomas Melville, Member of the Boston Tea-Party

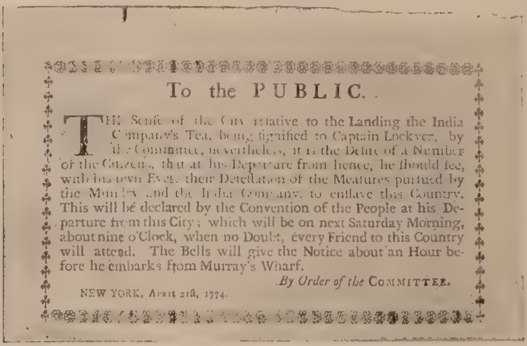
Pocket-book of Colonel Abner Cheever, Member of the Boston Tea-Party

1773

is that "for the quiet sublimity of reasonable but dauntless moral purpose, the heroic annals of Greece and Rome can show no greater scene than that which the Old South Meeting-House witnessed on the day when the tea was destroyed."

At Other Ports

At New York, the consignees of the tea refused to receive the cargo, whereupon a vigilance committee took charge of it and sent it back to England in the ship in which it came. A few chests brought in as a private speculation were discovered and thrown into the river. The captain of the tea-ship sent to Philadelphia, having heard at Chester of what had taken place in Boston, returned at once to England. At Charles Town, in spite of popular opposition and the resignation of the agents, the tea was secretly landed and stored in damp vaults under the custom-house where it spoiled. In various places, clandestine dealers in tea were brought before committees and punished. Sometimes the tea itself was hanged upon a gallows and then burned, it being "thought dangerous to let the said tea hang all night for fear of invasion from our tea-lovers." More than a year later, a Hartford tradesman advertised "tea (I ask pardon) *coffee* kettles."



To the PUBLIC.

THE Senſe of the City relative to the Landing the India Company's Tea, being ſignified to Captain Lockyer, by the Committee, nevertheleſs, it is the Deſire of a Number of the Citizens, that at his Departure from hence, he ſhould ſee, with his own Eyes, their Deteſtation of the Meaſures purſued by the Miniſtry and the India Company, to enſlave this Country. This will be declared by the Convention of the People at his Departure from this City; which will be on next Saturday Morning, about nine o'Clock, when no Doubt, every Friend to this Country will attend. The Bells will give the Notice about an Hour before he embarks from Murray's Wharf.

By Order of the COMMITTEE.

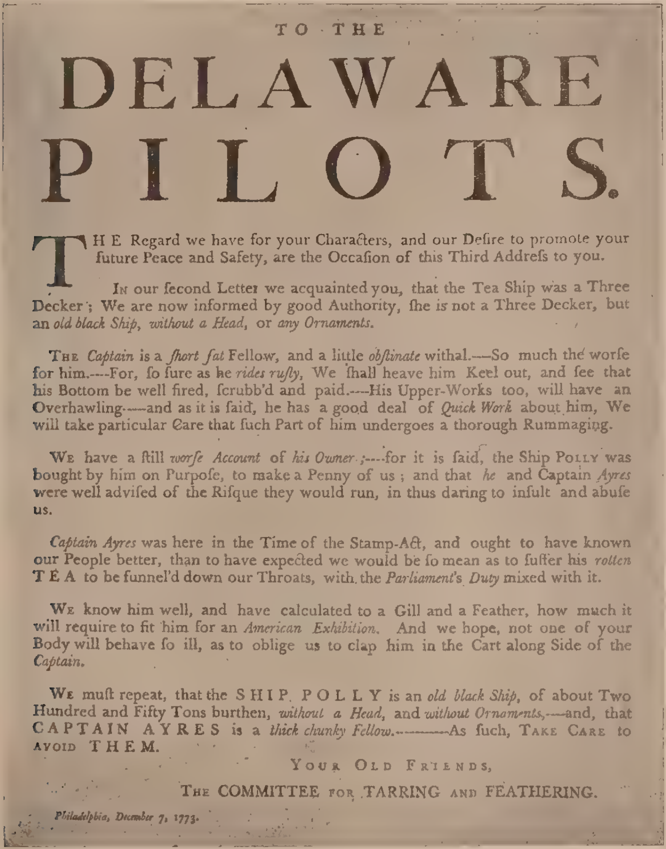
NEW YORK, April 21ſt, 1774.

Handbill issued by the New York Vigilance Committee

Hutchinson and the Council

The day after the "tea-party," Hutchinson called a meeting of the council, but failed to get a quorum. Aware of the popular feeling against him, he spent the night in the castle. The next day, he made another unsuccessful attempt to secure a council meeting, this time at Milton. Three days later, the council met at

Cambridge, but, beyond directing the attorney-general to lay the matter of the tea before the grand jury, did nothing. The general court was not to meet for a month. Before that time, two other consignments of tea arrived; one was landed at the castle and the other was thrown into the harbor.



TO THE

DELAWARE

PILOTS.

THE Regard we have for your Characters, and our Deſire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occaſion of this Third Addreſs to you.

In our ſecond Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker; We are now informed by good Authority, ſhe is not a Three Decker, but an *old black Ship, without a Head*, or *any Ornaments*.

The *Captain* is a *ſhort fat* Fellow, and a little *obſtinate* withal.---So much the worſe for him.----For, ſo ſure as he *rides ruſty*, We ſhall heave him Keel out, and ſee that his Bottom be well fired, ſcrubb'd and paid.----His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling.----and as it is ſaid, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that ſuch Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging.

We have a ſtill *worſe Account* of *his Owner*;----for it is ſaid, the Ship Polly was bought by him on Purpoſe, to make a Penny of us; and that *he* and Captain *Ayres* were well adviſed of the Riſque they would run, in thus daring to inſult and abuſe us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be ſo mean as to ſuffer his *rotten* TEA to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

We know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition*. And we hope, not one of your Body will behave ſo ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the *Captain*.

We muſt repeat, that the SHIP POLLY is an *old black Ship*, of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, *without a Head*, and *without Ornaments*,---and, that CAPTAIN AYRES is a *thick chunky Fellow*.---------As ſuch, Take Care to avoid THEM.

Your Old Friends,

The COMMITTEE for TARRING and FEATHERING.

Philadelphia, December 7, 1773.

Handbill issued by the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee

On the seventeenth of December, John Adams wrote in his diary: "What measures will the Ministry take in

1773 What Will the Harvest Be?

consequence of this? Will they resent it? Will they dare to resent it? Will they punish us? How? By quartering troops upon us? by annulling our charter? by laying on more duties? by restraining our trade? by sacrifice of individuals? or how?" The ministry was not long in giving answers to these nervous questions.

CHAPTER X

OVER THE MOUNTAINS

THE struggle for political rights did not absorb all the energies of all the colonists of this period. While British ministries were unwisely arousing a spirit that was to result in the disruption of the empire, the pioneers of the western border were beginning a movement that was to result in the settlement of the great valley beyond the mountains—an historical event almost or quite as important as the Revolution itself.

Unfruitful Projects

Since the formation and practical failure of the Ohio company, a number of schemes had been formed for establishing colonies in the new region. Soon after the Albany congress of 1754, Benjamin Franklin projected two colonies, to be settled under charters from the king, one in what is now northeastern Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania, the other in the region of the Scioto River. Franklin's plan came to nothing, as did that of Samuel Hazard, a Philadelphia merchant, who wished to obtain a charter to all of the Ohio valley and part of the Mississippi valley and to settle there a colony in which only Protestants could hold office and in which Roman Catholics should be debarred from owning land or having "Mass Houses or Popish Chappels." The suggestion of the writer of a pamphlet published at Edinburgh at the close of the French and Indian war that the western boundary of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania should be a line extending up the Maumee and down

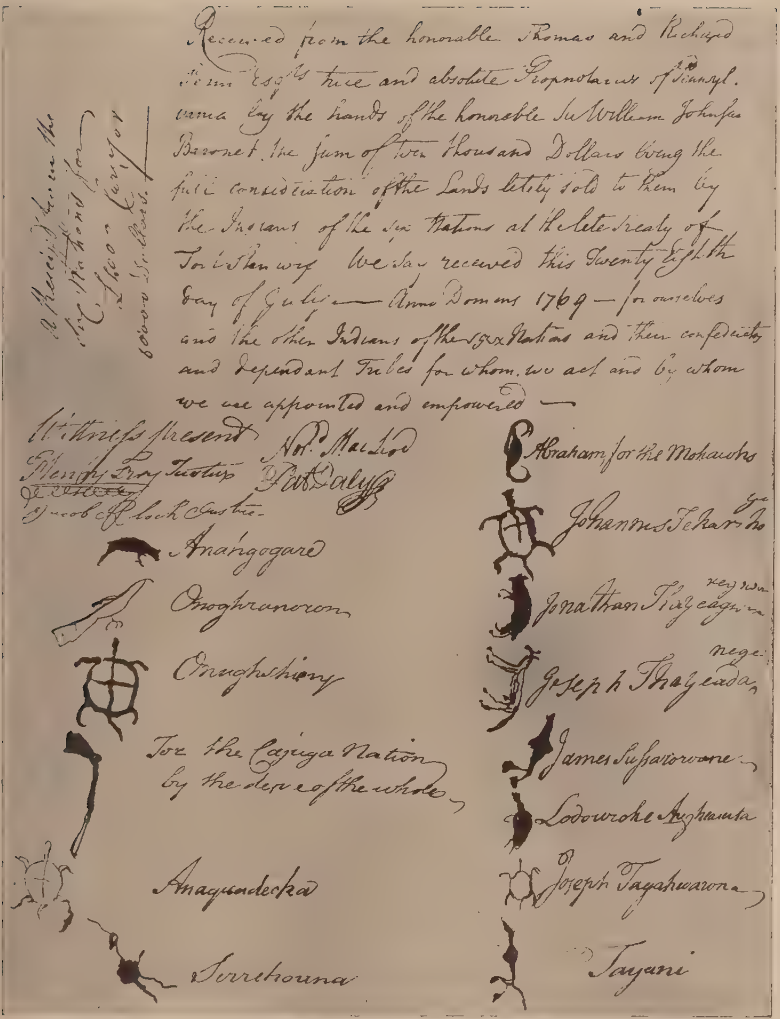
1754 1768 the Wabash and the Ohio to the Mississippi, and that beyond this there should be established a new colony "which might be called Charlotiana, in honor of Her Majesty our present most excellent Queen," also went unheeded.

The Royal Purpose

About the same time came the king's proclamation reserving "for the present" the country "beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest" for the use of the Indians. Some have supposed that this proclamation was designed to restrain westward settlement permanently, but the king probably intended it merely as a temporary expedient for securing the rights and quieting the minds of the Indians until a permanent arrangement should be made by treaty. Subsequent events bear out 1764 this view. Bouquet's treaty of the next year provided for the withdrawal of the Indians living south of the Ohio to the region north of it—an extremely important step in clearing the way. In 1768, the Six Nations sold to the proprietors of Pennsylvania an extensive tract on the western borders of their province and, by the treaty November 5 of Fort Stanwix, ceded to the crown their claims to what is now the state of Kentucky east of the Tennessee River (then generally called the Cherokee) and a large part of West Virginia.

The Vandalia Company

Among other colonizing schemes that were now brought forward was one in which Thomas Walpole and Benjamin Franklin were interested. After some negotiation, the lords of the treasury agreed, in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds, to convey to the company practically all of what is now West Virginia and so much of what is Kentucky as lay east of a line drawn from the mouth of the Scioto to Cumberland Gap. The bounds included the grant to the old Ohio company, but the English agent of that company agreed to merge that company's interest in the new project. The new company also agreed to grant the two hundred thousand acres that had been promised to Washington and those who had served under him in the first campaign of the



Received from the honorable Thomas and Richard Penn Esq.rs true and absolute Proprietaries of Pennsylvania by the hands of the honorable Sir William Johnson Baronet the sum of ten thousand Dollars being the full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by the Indians of the Six Nations at the late Treaty of Fort Stanwix We say received this Twenty Eighth day of July — Anno Domini 1769 — for ourselves and the other Indians of the Six Nations and their confederates and dependant Tribes for whom we act and by whom we are appointed and empowered —

A Receipt given the
Propr.s Bond for
C £1500 Curr.y or
10000 Dollars.

Witness present
Henry Frey Justice
~~[illegible]~~
Jacob Klock Justice

Hor. MacLeod
Pat Daly

Anahgogare

Onoghranoron

Onughshiony

For the Cayuga Nation
by the desire of the whole

Anaquadecka

Serrehouna

Abraham for the Mohawks

Johannes Tekar$^{\text{ga}}$sho

Jonathan Tiayeag$^{\text{keyswa}}$wa

Joseph Thayeada$^{\text{nege}}$

James Sussarowane

Lodowroke Aughaunta

Joseph Tayahwarona

Tayani

Receipt for Iroquois Lands sold to the Penns at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix

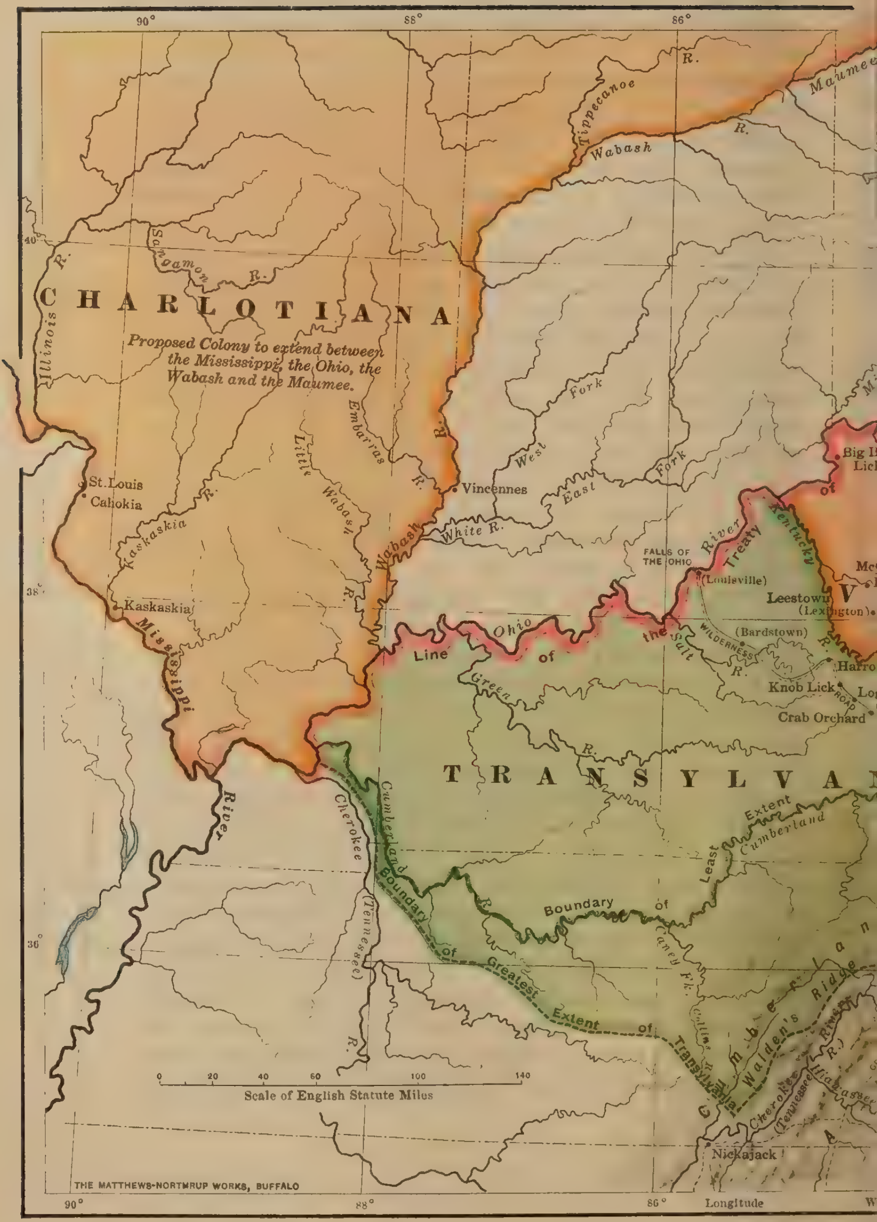
1769 French and Indian war. Lord Hillsborough and Governor Dunmore opposed the project, but, after long delay, the king in council gave it his approval. At the same time, the bounds of the projected colony were extended to the Kentucky River. By the spring of 1775, a royal charter was ready for execution, but the outbreak of rebellion wrecked Vandalia. The incident, however, shows that the home government was willing to create new colonies in the great central valley; Virginia merely insisted that private claims in that region be respected.

No-Man's-Land

Meanwhile, the actual "Winning of the West" to civilization was going on in a more informal manner. The first region to receive permanent settlers was the "great hill-strewn, forest-clad valley" that lies between the Great Smoky, the Unaka, and the Cumberland mountains; the source of the Holston, the French Broad, the Watauga, and other streams that unite to form the Tennessee. It was a part of what had been No-man's-land, territory claimed by many tribes and held by none. Through the valley ran the great war trail of the Cherokees and their northern foes. Shooting off through Cumberland Gap and across Kentucky to the Ohio, was another trail or "trace" known as the Warrior's Path. The existence of this neutral zone between the northern and the southern Indians is a fact of great importance, the key that threw open the gate and gave a vantage ground from which the West was won. After they had crossed the mountains, the pioneers of Tennessee and Kentucky simply followed the lines of least resistance, a sort of wedge pushed westward between formidable foes on either hand.

The Pioneers of Tennessee

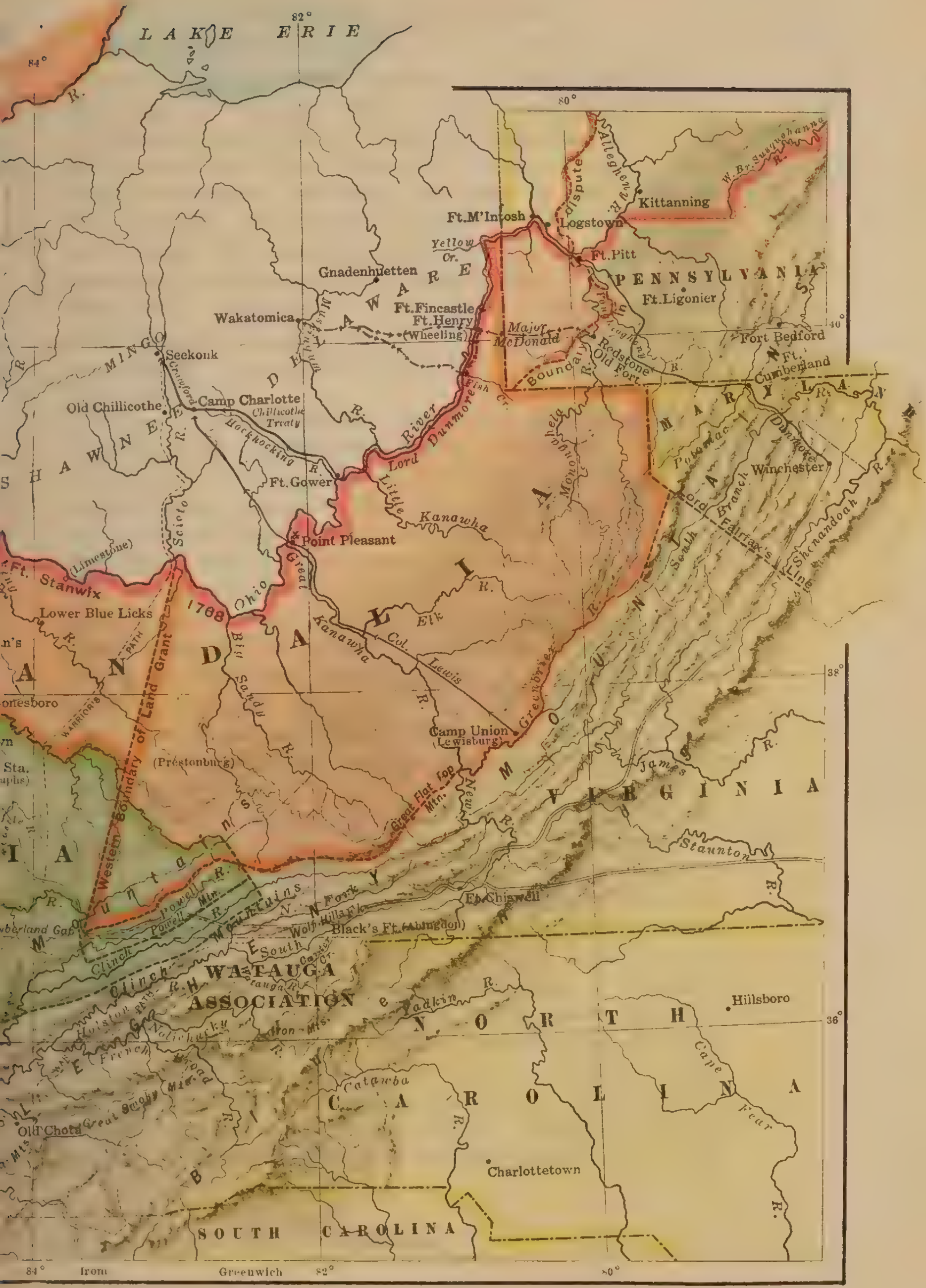
About the beginning of 1769, settlers from Virginia began to follow the watercourses down the valley and to settle on the banks of the Watauga River. Reinforcing these, came others across the mountains from North Carolina. Most of these pioneers were backwoodsmen of sturdy Scotch-Irish stock, venturesome and turbulent, but brave, determined, and religious, good hunters and good fighters. Among them was James Robertson, two



Dunmore's War and the F

(Prepared by Dr. Paul Leland Ha

The map illustra



osed New Colonies in the West
h and David Maydole Matteson, A. M.)
conditions to about 1776

years married and now "learning his letters and to spell from his well-educated wife." In the summer of 1770, he raised a crop of corn on the Watauga and, late in the fall, returned to North Carolina. In the spring, he came back with sixteen families, "the men on foot, rifle on shoulder, the elder children driving the lean cows, while the women, the young children, and the few household goods and implements of husbandry were carried on the backs of packhorses." The newcomers were well received; by reason of his gifts for leadership, Robertson became one of the most influential men of the settlement.

Shelby and Sevier

Within a year or so, the settlement was strengthened by the coming of Evan Shelby and John Sevier. Shelby was a cattleman whose Welsh blood had been invigorated by his frontier mountain life. Sevier, the son of a Huguenot settler of the Shenandoah valley, had a fair education and was a "gentleman" by birth and breeding. He brought to the Watauga his wife and two children and on the Nolichucky built a great rambling house of logs famous as "Nolichucky Jack's house." He became the most renowned Indian fighter of the region; his pleasing manners, tact, courtesy, and lavish hospitality gave him almost unbounded influence among the settlers. He was ambitious and "almost as fond of popularity as of Indian fighting."

The Watauga Constitution

At first, the settlers thought that they were within the boundaries of Virginia, but, in 1771, they discovered that they were in territory claimed by North Carolina. The discovery had important political results. With the better class of honest Presbyterians were now mingled escaped bond-servants, runaway debtors, horse-thieves, and murderers—the scum that always floats in the wake of an advancing army or frontier. The better class felt the need of protection against this lawless element. Furthermore, there was danger from the Indians. The settlers could now expect no help from Virginia, and it would be useless to turn to North Carolina, for that colony, always turbulent and disorderly, was now emerging from the "Regulator" troubles. Early in the spring of 1772, with plain, common sense and apparently under the leadership of Robertson, the settlers formed and adopted "The Articles of the Watauga Association," the first written constitution, says Mr. Roosevelt, "ever adopted west of the mountains or by a community composed of American-born freemen."

The Watauga Commonwealth

Under this constitution, the people elected a legislature of thirteen members, and the thirteen chose five arbitrators or commissioners with judicial and executive functions; Robertson and Sevier were of the five. Virginia law was recognized as the standard, but judicial proceedings were characterized more by regard for equity than for ordinary legal form. This government, equally simple, sensible, and remarkable, continued in full vigor for six years. It secured from the Cherokees an eight-years' tenure of the land on which the settlements lay, and maintained peace at home and with the Indians in spite of the deeds of bad men of both colors. In August, 1776, Watauga petitioned North Carolina to be allowed to come under its protection, and, two years later, the region was organized into Washington County. Sevier and his associates were continued in authority as justices of the peace and militia officers.

The Pioneers of Kentucky

While the foundations of the state of Tennessee were being thus laid, other men, equally hardy and venturesome, were exploring and settling what was to be her next-door neighbor. For years, stray hunters and explorers, most of whose names have been forgotten, had made occasional incursions into the "dark and bloody ground" that served as the battle-field and game preserve of the red tribes of the north and of the south. In 1750, Doctor Thomas Walker of Virginia made a trip to the headwaters of the Kentucky River and discovered and named Cumberland Gap. Later in the same year, Christopher Gist, the agent of the Ohio company, passed through Ohio westward to the Great Miami and, early in 1751, turned southward from the mouth of the Scioto into Kentucky. John Finley subsequently visited the region.

In 1765, George Croghan descended the Ohio, and, in the following year, James Smith, who had been a prisoner in Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's defeat, explored parts of Kentucky and Tennessee. 1765 1769

Daniel Boone

Finley's account of the wonders of the new country stirred the interest of Daniel Boone, who, though neither the first explorer nor the first settler of Kentucky, has been generally regarded as her foremost pioneer. Boone was born in 1734, of Quaker parents, in the valley of the Schuylkill. When he was seventeen years of age, his parents moved from Pennsylvania into the valley of the Yadkin in North Carolina. In 1755, he was a wagoner in Braddock's expedition and escaped from the battle-field on horseback. Somewhat later, he married and varied his work as a farmer by long trips of hunting and exploration. Until recently, there stood on the bank of Boone's Creek, a small tributary of the Tennessee, a tree upon the smooth bark of which was carved: "D Boon cilled A BAR on this tree year 1760." He subsequently served in an expedition against the Cherokees, went on a trip into Tennessee, and, in 1765, made a long visit to Florida. 1761

Boone Invades Kentucky

According to Mr. Thwaites, Boone heard Finley's story of Kentucky while the two were on Braddock's expedition and never lost the longing thus aroused to visit this region in which game was wonderfully abundant. In the fall of 1767, with one or two companions, he crossed the mountain wall and spent the winter at a salt-lick about ten miles from the present town of Prestonburg. Convinced that they were not in the promised land, they returned to the Yadkin. In the spring of 1769, Daniel Boone, Finley, John Stuart, and three others, clad in deerskin hunting-shirts and mounted on good horses, set out again. Threading their way through tangled mountain mass and gloomy forest, they passed through Cumberland Gap and, following the Warrior's Path, broke into the beautiful blue-grass region with its running waters, groves, glades, and prairies, and its herds of countless buffalo, deer, and round-horned elk. Making

1769 1770 their chief camp on what is now Station Camp Creek in Estill County, they, for six months, hunted in the heart of Kentucky.

In the Blue-Grass Country

In December, the party was plundered by a band of Shawnees who warned them to keep off the Indian's land. Four of the party returned home, but Boone and Stuart, with a man named Neely, and Squire Boone, Daniel's brother, who had opportunely arrived with fresh horses and ammunition, determined to remain. About the beginning of February, 1770, Stuart disappeared; what became of him was a mystery until five years later when Daniel Boone found his friend's bones in a hollow sycamore. After this disappearance, Neely went home; in the spring, Squire Boone returned to the Yadkin with horses well laden with furs, skins, and jerked meat. For three months, Daniel Boone stayed alone in Kentucky, "without bread, salt, or sugar, without company of his fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog." In July, Squire Boone returned; the brothers secured more pelts; and again Daniel was left in the wilderness alone. In December, Squire Boone came back and the two settled down for another winter in Kentucky.

The Long Hunters

But the Boones and their comrades were not the only white men in Kentucky. In the summer of 1769, a party of twenty or more from the Valley of Virginia entered the country by the way of Cumberland Gap, killed great quantities of game, and were plundered by the Cherokees. In the fall of the following year, a company of about forty of the most famous frontiersmen of the Holston and New River valleys, "Long Hunters" they called themselves, took the same route for a long hunt in the heart of Kentucky. At Knob Licks, they beheld "what they estimated at over a thousand animals, including buffaloe, elk, bear, and deer, with many wild turkies scattered among them—all quite restless, some playing, and others busily employed in licking the earth." The Long Hunters also were despoiled by the Cherokees and, after a succession of disasters in one of which two men were carried off by the Indians, many of them returned home. The others broke up into small parties and continued to hunt, chiefly upon the Cumberland and Green rivers. One day, one of these parties, led by Casper Mansker, heard a strange noise in the forest and, creeping forward, saw "a man bare-headed, stretched flat upon his back on a deerskin spread on the ground, singing merrily at the top of his voice!" It was Daniel Boone who was thus passing away the time while waiting for the return of his brother.

1770
1773

Hard Luck

For some time, Mansker's party and the Boones hunted together, but, in March, 1771, the Boones set out for home. Not far from Cumberland Gap, they were captured by a war-party of northern Indians who handled them roughly and stole their packs, leaving Daniel poorer than when he left home two years before. Early in 1773, Daniel made a short trip as far as what is now Jessamine County and, later in the year, having sold his farm on the Yadkin, gathered a party to attempt an actual settlement. The party consisted of Boone, his wife and children, five families, and forty men besides, with horses and cattle. While they were on the way, the Shawnees killed six of the men, including Boone's sixteen-year old son, James; in spite of Boone's entreaties, the other survivors insisted upon giving up the enterprise; they took up their abode temporarily upon the Clinch River.

Hungering for the Horizon

In the same year, a party of backwoodsmen and surveyors led by three young men named McAfee descended the Ohio in dugout canoes to hunt and to spy out the land for settlement. At Big Bone Lick, long celebrated for the remains of the extinct mastodon, they "made a tent by stretching their blankets over the huge fossil ribs, and used the disjointed vertebræ as stools on which to sit." They explored the region around what is now Frankfort and, on their homeward way, crossed the Cumberland mountains. In the same year, Simon Kenton and other hunters were wandering through the country, and, at the falls of the Ohio, Captain Thomas Bullitt was laying out a town on the site of Louisville.

The permanent settlement of the country was now

1773

Another Indian War

still further delayed by the outbreak of a new Indian war, known as "Cresap's War" or the "Dunmore War." The cause of this struggle has been the subject of much controversy. It is certain, however, that the incursions of the whites into Kentucky and Tennessee and the even greater activity of white men in the region of the upper Ohio, Virginians seeking Indian lands and Pennsylvanians seeking Indian trade, intensified the jealousy of the Indians who could not fail to note, with anxious thoughts for the future, the westward advance of the Caucasian wave. Although a nominal peace had prevailed since 1764, Indians and border white men had so frequently wronged each other that "whenever a member of one race met a man of the other the rifle was apt to be brought into play." The controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to the ownership of the upper Ohio region added to the difficulties of the situation.

Dunmore

The Illinois Company

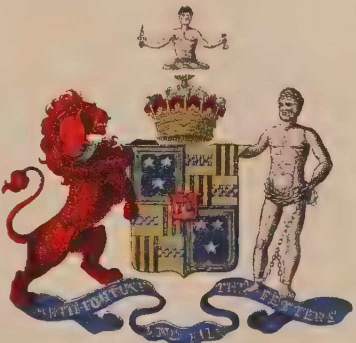
The royal proclamation of October, 1763, had closed the over-mountain country against white settlers and land speculators, and a bill now pending in parliament, known as the Quebec bill, provided for the addition of that country north of the Ohio to the province of Quebec. The provisions of this bill will be set forth more fully in the next chapter; it will answer the present purpose to point out that such legislative action would curb the territorial pretensions of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and other seaboard colonies. In the summer of 1773, certain adventurers had formed at Kaskaskia the Illinois land company, and with them, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, and other gentlemen of tide-water Virginia were interested. The Illinois company had bargained with the Indians for a large tract of lands bounded by the Wabash, the Mississippi, and the Illinois, and the deed had been passed. The lands were described as being within the chartered limits of Virginia. The purchase was imperilled by the now-pending Quebec bill. Thus Dunmore added a personal interest to his official loyalty to the historic claims of Virginia under the somewhat vague provisions of the charter of 1609.

July 5, 1773

Logan and Cresap

At this time, Governor Dunmore and the Penns were in controversy concerning the western boundary of Pennsylvania. Dunmore's agent in the disputed territory was Captain John Conolly, a man not easily to be admired; his violence and outrages had brought even white men to the verge of open war. In spite of Penn's protests, Dunmore had taken possession of Fort Pitt and was determined to hold it as a gate to the over-river country of Virginia. Indian depredations on the border offered him a pretext for a proclamation ordering the militia to be in readiness. By this force he might intimidate Pennsylvania, punish the Indians, and maintain the sovereignty of Virginia beyond the Ohio. About this time, a hunting party from the settlement at the mouth of the Kanawha was attacked by wandering Cherokees. In retaliation, the hunters resolved to attack the Indian towns on the Scioto and found a leader in the famous frontiersman, Michael Cresap. The impromptu army was reinforced by recruits from the settlement that three brothers, Ebenezer, Jonathan, and Silas Zane, had begun

April 16, 1774



Coat of Arms of Lord Dunmore

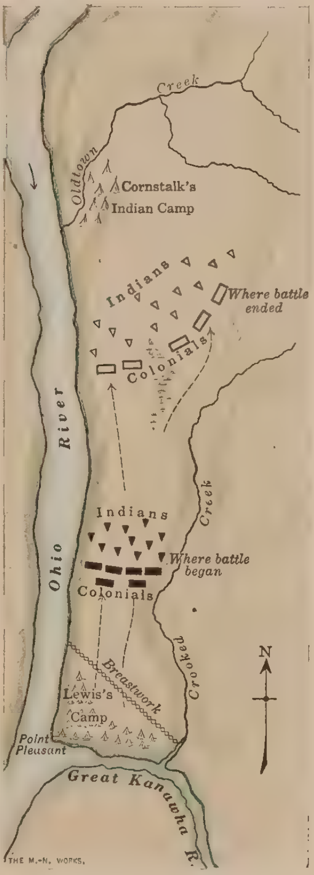
1774 on the site of Wheeling. A few Shawnees were ambushed and killed, thus making a bad matter worse, but the April 30 most fruitful event was the murder of the family of the Mingo chieftain, John Logan. Logan had been bred at Shamokin, near the Moravian settlement, and had long been known as the firm friend of the white men. His camp was at the mouth of Yellow Creek, about fifteen miles above the site of Steubenville. When his family crossed from the north side of the Ohio to get rum, they were set upon and brutally murdered by one Greathouse and his score of carousing white companions. Logan at once sent a declaration of war to Cresap whom he erroneously supposed to have ordered the massacre. To the aid of the Mingoes and the Shawnees came many of the Delawares, Wyandots, and other tribes along the Wabash, Miami, and the lakes, and Dunmore's war was begun. Logan, hitherto a friend, now became the most insatiable enemy of all.

Dunmore Invades the Northwest

The Quebec bill had become a law in June, but, on the tenth of July, before the expected enactment was known in Virginia, Dunmore left Williamsburg to direct offensive operations in person. Two days later, he gave July 12 orders for Andrew Lewis to move down the Kanawha with a force and to cross the Ohio into the country of the Shawnees. Major Angus McDonald had meantime led a body of Virginia militia across the mountains. Moving down the Ohio, he built Fort Fincastle at the site of Wheeling. Dunmore's plan of campaign was to gather the Virginia army in two divisions, each fifteen hundred strong. The right wing, commanded by himself, was to move forward by way of Pittsburg to the mouth of the Kanawha, there to be joined by the left wing under Colonel Lewis. Having led his levies to Fort Pitt, the English earl modified his original plan and abandoned the scheme of meeting Lewis at the mouth of the Kanawha. With a flotilla of a hundred canoes besides the keel-boats and pirogues, he descended the Ohio and, by the end of September, was at Fort Fincastle with about thirteen hundred men, including such

1774

experienced scouts as George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton, and Simon Girty. Thence he sent forward Major William Crawford with a party to build, at the mouth of the Hocking River (then known as the Hockhocking), a stockade known as Fort Gower. Dunmore followed, ascended the Hocking to the falls, and marched thence toward the Scioto, and, on the edge of the Pickaway Plains, fortified Camp Charlotte about four miles east of the Indian town of Old Chillicothe, now Westfall in Pickaway County. Thus, a royal governor ignored the prohibition of the royal proclamation of 1763, and gave no heed to the provisions of the Quebec bill which he knew to be pending and which had, in fact, become a law.



Map of the Battle of the Great Kanawha

The Battle of the Great Kanawha

About the beginning of September, Lewis gathered at Camp Union, at "the levels of Greenbrier" (the site of Lewisburg, West Virginia), his army of stalwart and experienced Indian fighters from the back counties of Virginia and the Watauga commonwealth, one of the finest armies of frontiersmen ever assembled. Among them were such men as Evan Shelby and his son Isaac, John Sevier, and James Robertson. On the sixth of October, Lewis arrived with most of his force at Point Pleasant, the high triangular point of land

1774 jutting out on the north side of the Kanawha where it empties into the Ohio. Three days later, Simon Girty, afterwards generously hated as "the white renegade," brought an order from Dunmore to meet him at Pickaway Plains. On the morning of the tenth, before Lewis could begin the movement, he was suddenly attacked by about a thousand warriors, the pick of the northwestern tribes, under the celebrated Shawnee chieftain, Cornstalk. Greatly outnumbered by the two divisions of the Virginia army, the wary Indian clearly saw that if he could surprise and overwhelm Lewis and his force, the fate of Lord Dunmore and the division on the Scioto would lie easily in his hands. Hence his quick and crafty movement through the forest to the banks of the Ohio. The two forces were about equal in numbers, and the desperate, all-day battle was one of the most stubbornly contested fights ever waged between white men and red men. After one-fifth of the white men had been killed or wounded, the Indians were finally driven off with a loss that was never definitely ascertained. It probably is true, as has been said, that "had the battle of Point Pleasant been fought on New England soil, the pages of history would have been filled with the name of Andrew Lewis."

Dunmore's Treaty

Lewis then crossed the Ohio and marched his army to the Pickaway Plains, where he was ordered to return to the mouth of the Kanawha, as Dunmore was negotiating a treaty of peace for which Cornstalk had been forced by his disheartened followers to ask. Lewis's backwoodsmen, flushed with victory, angered by their losses, and in fighting blood at fever heat, were restrained with difficulty, but were finally induced by Dunmore in person to march homeward—it would have been difficult to negotiate a peace in the presence of such men in such a mind. By the terms of the treaty that was made, the Indians abandoned all claims to lands south of the Ohio, surrendered their white captives and stolen horses, and gave hostages for future good behavior. Logan refused to enter the council and Dunmore sent John

1774

Gibson to urge the only absentee chief to attend. To the governor's messenger, Logan told the story of his wrongs and then suddenly addressed to him, if Gibson's report is true, that magnificent outburst of native eloquence, the undying "Logan's Speech," the greatest of our Indian prose elegies.

Pioneer Patriotism

Dunmore's personal share in the war had not been dangerous or strenuous but he marched back to Virginia with his hostages "to receive the applause and honor never withheld from a conqueror." On their return, the officers held a meeting at or near Fort Gower, at the mouth of the Hocking. In true American fashion, there were speeches and resolutions. The speakers emphasized the fact that they had been in the woods for three months, that they had no recent information from the continental congress that they knew was in session at Philadelphia, or from Boston where trouble was impending. They knew that their backwoodsmen followers could march and fight as well as any in the world and they were not willing to run the risk that their countrymen should imagine that they were indifferent to the cause that was quickening the pulses of Sam Adams and Patrick Henry. The resolutions tendered thanks to Lord Dunmore for his leadership and avowed their faithful allegiance to George III. "while his majesty delights to reign over a brave and a free people," and proclaimed their resolution to exert all their powers "for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges, not in any precipitous, riotous, or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen." Thus, "at the very beginning of the struggle for independence the men of the frontiers, gathered on the soil of the Northwest, pledged the new lands to freedom."

November 5

The Results

The Dunmore war was far more than "a mere episode of the border." It kept the northwestern tribes quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary war; it conquered the peace that made possible the settlement of Kentucky and therefore the winning of the West.

Through the twoscore years that were to elapse before Great Britain took her hand off the territory between the Ohio and the great lakes, the pledge made on the banks of the Hocking was held good by the pioneers of Kentucky and their descendants. Had it not been for the pluck of Andrew Lewis and his men at Point Pleasant, "it is more than likely that when the colonies achieved their freedom they would have found their boundaries fixed at the Alleghany Mountains." For the freedom from such limitation, thanks to King George's royal governor of Virginia.

The Dark and Bloody Ground

In North Carolina dwelt one Richard Henderson, a man with a crippled fortune and a turn to speculation. He had planned a proprietary colony in the west and now thought that the time had come to carry out the project. By a treaty made at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga, he and his associates obtained from the Cherokees the lands between the Kentucky and the Tennessee rivers, the consideration being ten thousand pounds to be paid in merchandise. The Cherokees frankly characterized the deeded territory as a "dark ground," a "bloody ground," and said that "a black cloud" hung over it. One old chief said: "We have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it." Henderson named his domain Transylvania.

March 17, 1775

The Wilderness Road

Henderson knew Daniel Boone and saw in him the man he wanted as his lieutenant. A week before the treaty with the Cherokees was ratified, he sent Boone ahead with about thirty men to clear a bridle-path from the Holston to Kentucky and to begin a settlement. This was "Boone's Trace," the now famous Wilderness Road. Blazing tree-trunks in the open timber and cutting through the underbrush, Boone led the way through Cumberland Gap and across the Cumberland, Laurel, and Rockcastle rivers. Near the Kentucky, they were attacked by Indians and two of their number were killed while a third was wounded. On the sixth of April, (according to Thwaites) they reached an open plain, and, near a sulphur spring, began building Boonesboro.

By this time, other pioneers were in the land. Among these were James Harrod, Benjamin Logan, and the McAfees. In the previous June, Harrod and a party of about forty men had laid out in central Kentucky the place first known as Harrodstown and then as Harrodsburg, but they had been warned by Boone of the Indian war and had abandoned it. On the eighteenth of March, Harrod with about thirty men reoccupied the site and established the first permanent settlement in Kentucky. In spite of Dunmore's treaty, occasional Indian ravages were committed, some of the settlers were "killed and sculped;" and many more were panic-stricken. Boone, instead of being frightened, wrote to Henderson to hurry up the colonists, urging that "now is the time to flusterate the intentions of the Indians and keep the country." Henderson and his party were already on the way, and, on the twentieth of April, reached Boonesboro, "a typical forted village such as the frontiersmen built everywhere in the west and southwest during the years that they were pushing their way across the continent." Other settlers were coming in, and forts were built at Boiling Springs and Logan's Station (Saint Asaphs).

1775
A Permanent Settlement in Kentucky

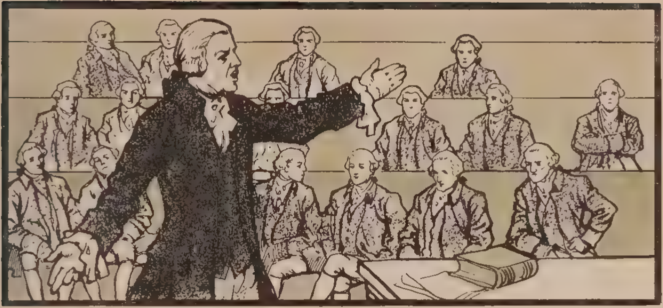
Soon after his arrival, Henderson issued a call for the election of members of the Transylvania legislature, and the four stations sent seventeen or eighteen delegates. They convened on the twenty-third of May under the branches of a mighty elm—"a fit council-house for this pioneer legislature of game hunters and Indian fighters." Religious freedom was guaranteed and several laws were enacted, but this first session lacked but one of being the last. Opposition to the Transylvania proprietors rapidly developed both within and without. In June, 1776, the settlers about Harrodsburg, under the leadership of George Rogers Clark, held a convention and sent Clark and Captain John Gabriel Jones as delegates to the Virginia convention. Virginia claimed the Kentucky country, and North Carolina claimed the region around the Cumberland. The purchase from the Cherokees was pro-

Transylvania

1775 claimed null and void as to the proprietors, though valid against the Indians. A vain appeal was made to the continental congress. Both Virginia and North Carolina reimbursed the proprietors by large grants of land. Transylvania's fitful life flickered out of existence and Henderson nearly drifted out of history.

In the Enemy's Country

Thus, at the beginning of the Revolution, Kentucky lay like an island far out in the forest sea, cut off by the mountains from the mother colonies as Plymouth rock was cut off by the Atlantic from the mother country. For the first time, American pioneers had got out of touch with the civilization of the seaboard. For a time, the new settlements were to enjoy comparative peace and quiet. The Wilderness Road, though at all times perilous, was thronged with incoming settlers, and many boatloads came down the Ohio. Game was plentiful, the fruitful soil yielded abundant harvests, and there was marrying and giving in marriage. But the "black cloud" pointed out by the Cherokee chieftain still overcast the beautiful land; in spite of the obliteration of Indian titles by the treaties made at Fort Stanwix, Sycamore Shoals, and Camp Charlotte, Kentucky was and was to be a dark and bloody ground.



CHAPTER XI

THE FIVE INTOLERABLE ACTS

Provocation

NO fair-minded American will deny or ignore the fact that the colonists had given great provocation to King George and the British ministry. They had repeatedly nullified acts of parliament and had resorted to concerted violence. They had riotously resisted the stamp act and had defeated the purpose of the Townshend revenue act. Boston "patriots" were determined and defiant, the exultant sympathy of New York and Philadelphia fell little short of overt treason, and from Virginia came the voice of Patrick Henry—as ill an omen as that of Samuel Adams. Narragansett Bay had been reddened by the burning of the "Gaspee." Now the waters of Boston Harbor had been given a hyson flavor—this was more than the maddened ministry could bear. All these things tended to strengthen a belief, already common in England, that the Americans were a dangerous and lawless people, bent on resisting all imperial control, and, worst of all, aiming at independence. British pride had been wounded and any suggestion of conciliation fell on deaf ears and hardened hearts.

A King's Anger

A month after the privy council voted the petition of Massachusetts for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous," the papers relating to the recent proceedings in America, and especially to the destruction of the tea at Boston, were laid before parliament. Accompanying the papers was a

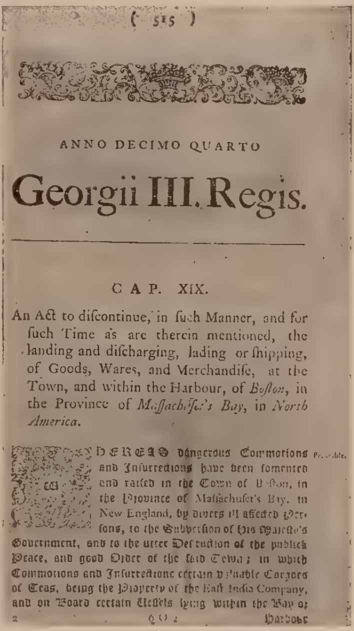
1774 March 7 royal message regarding "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston." That King George was really angry may be gathered from a note of the fourth of February, to Lord North, in which he said: "General Gage, though just returned from Boston, expresses his willingness to go back at a day's notice if convenient measures are adopted. He says, 'They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek.' Four regiments sent to Boston will, he thinks, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence."

"The Bostonians paying the Excise Man, or, Tarring and Feathering," a Cartoon published in London in 1774

The Boston Port Bill On the fourteenth, in the commons, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection and management of his Majesty's duties and customs from the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America; and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the said town of Boston, or within the harbor thereof." In justification of this extraordinary proposition, he declared that the "tea-party" was the third occasion on which the customs officers had been prevented from performing their duty in Boston; that

1774

commerce was no longer safe there; and that although "some few individuals may suffer on this account who ought not," it was neither novel nor improper to punish a whole town whose authority "had been, as it were, asleep and inactive." As Boston had been the ringleader, it "ought to be the principal object of our attention for punishment. . . . We should let it go forth to the world that the parliament of Great Britain will protect their subjects and their property."



(515)

ANNO DECIMO QUARTO

Georgii III. Regis.

C A P. XIX.

An Act to diſcontinue, in ſuch Manner, and for ſuch Time as are therein mentioned, the landing and diſcharging, lading or ſhipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandiſe, at the Town, and within the Harbour, of *Boſton*, in the Province of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, in *North America*.

WHEREAS dangerous Commotions and Inſurrections have been fomented and raiſed in the Town of Boſton, in the Province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, in New England, by divers ill affected Perſons, to the Subverſion of His Majeſty's Government, and to the utter Deſtruction of the publick Peace, and good Order of the ſaid Town; in which Commotions and Inſurrections certain valuable Cargoes of Teas, being the Property of the Eaſt India Company, and on Board certain Veſſels lying within the Bay or Preamble.

2 Q O 2 Harbour

First Page of the Boston Port Bill, in the Volume of Acts relating to the American Colonies

The Bill Becomes a Law

In the debate that followed, Barré sarcastically declared that he liked the bill "for its moderation," and added: "Keep your hands out of the pockets of the Americans, and they will be obedient subjects." Burke denied that Boston was alone in resistance: "show me one port in all America where the goods have been landed and vended. . . . There are but two ways to govern America: either to make it subservient to all your laws, or to let it govern itself by its own internal policy." But the opponents of the bill were in a hopeless minority. The petition of Bollan, the Massachusetts agent, and another from Americans resident in London, including Henry Laurens, were laid on the table. The bill passed the lower house without a division on the twenty-fifth; it passed the upper house without a division on the thirtieth; it received the royal assent on the thirty-first.

14 George III. cap. 19

1774

The Blockade of Boston

The act closed the port of Boston from and after the first of June, 1774, to all commerce save in food, fuel, and military supplies, until such time as full satisfaction should be made to the East India company for the damage sustained by the loss of the tea, and to the revenue officers for injuries received; and further until such time as the king in council should decide that commerce might be safely resumed. A blockade of the harbor was to be maintained by British war-ships, and even coasting vessels carrying food and fuel "for the necessary use and sustenance of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston" had to submit to search "at Marblehead in the port of Salem." The penalty for violation of the act was forfeiture of vessel and cargo. Vessels found hovering about the harbor or bay might be compelled to depart under like penalty of seizure and forfeiture. The act remained in force until December, 1775, when it was repealed.

The Massachusetts Government Bill

The second part of the scheme of coercion was disclosed on the twenty-eighth of March, when North moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay." He proposed, he said, "to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government;" to enlarge the appointing power of the governor; to make the holding of town-meetings, save for the annual elections, subject to the consent of the governor; and to regulate the choice of jurors. Lord George Germain supported the motion in a speech that North rapturously declared to be "worthy of a great mind," and the desired leave was given.

In the House of Commons

The bill was brought in on the fifteenth of April and immediately called out vigorous opposition. Dowdeswell urged moderation and forbearance and former Governor Pownall explained the injustice of interfering with the jury system and the serious inconveniences that would attend the suspension of town-meetings. The bill, however, was given its first reading. When the debate was resumed on the twenty-second, Sir George Saville attacked the bill as "a very doubtful and dangerous one," unwarranted by any facts before the house. Are the Americans, asked Conway, to be condemned and punished without being heard? "The Americans," replied North, "have tarred and feathered your subjects, plundered your merchants, burnt your ships, denied all obedience to your laws and authority;" yet further clemency is demanded. Charles Fox declared that the bill "is not what you want; it irritates the minds of the people, but does not correct the deficiencies" of the Massachusetts government. Burke protested against the bill and predicted that it would not be submitted to without force. In vain, Bollan asked for delay until he could communicate with Massachusetts, and another petition from Americans in London was laid on the table. North again carried the day, and, on the second of May, the bill, by a vote of two hundred and thirty-nine to sixty-four, was ordered read a third time and passed.

In the House of Lords

The bill went promptly through the house of lords, having its second reading in that body on the sixth of May. On the eleventh, by a vote of ninety-two to twenty, it was read a third time and passed, eleven members entering their protest against it. In the view of the eleven, the passage of the bill without giving Massachusetts an opportunity to be heard violated "not technical formality, but substantial justice." If the military and naval forces already ordered to assemble at Boston were not sufficient to keep the colony in order, no mere act of parliament could accomplish that result. Further, the provision for the appointment of judges by the governor instead of by the crown was opposed to English practice. Like the port act, this bill embodied "the same scheme of strengthening the authority of the Officers and Ministers of State at the expense of the rights and liberties of the subject," and was intended to support the ill-advised scheme for taxing the colonies which ought to be regarded as ended with the repeal of the stamp act. This protest of the peers, like others of this stormy time, was probably written by Burke; it was

14 George III. cap. 45

1774 a trenchant arraignment of the policy of the king and his ministers. The bill received the royal assent on the twentieth of May.

Its Provisions

The act set aside so much of the Massachusetts charter as related to the election of councilors and vested their appointment in the king; the persons so appointed were to hold office during the royal pleasure. Judges, marshals, and other officials of the courts were to be subject to appointment and removal by the governor without the consent of the council; sheriffs were to be appointed by the same authority, but the consent of the council was necessary for their removal. Still more grievous, no town-meeting, save the annual meeting for the election of town officers and representatives, might be called without leave of the governor. To complete the policy of repression, grand and petit jurors were to be chosen by the sheriffs. Never before had parliament interfered with a colonial charter. The theory that the charter emanated from the crown and could be altered only by judicial process was here for the first time set aside. From a constitutional point of view, this act was the most revolutionary of all the acts of parliament relating to America.

The Administration of Justice Bill

On the fifteenth of April, the day on which the Massachusetts government bill made its appearance in the house of commons, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a third bill "for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of the riots and tumults" in Massachusetts. Blind to the lesson of Preston's acquittal, he declared that the juries in the colonies could not be relied upon to give to offenders a fair trial and that it was necessary to empower the governor to send the accused to another colony, or if need be to England, for trial. The measure was to be temporary, for three or four years at the most. With such a law, all that would be necessary would be for the crown officers to be "vigilant in the execution of their duty, and keep a watchful eye over every encroachment against the power we shall now pass." With the aid of able and resolute lawyers, he was confident that reasonableness and peace would shortly return to a misguided and turbulent dependency.

In the House of Commons

Englishmen had long been jealous of the ancient privilege of trial by "a jury of the vicinage." This measure, with its open denial of that privilege in an English colony, was bitterly attacked. Barré denounced it as "glaring," "unprecedented," "unwarranted," "big with misery and oppression." "Instead of sending them the olive branch," he declared, "you have sent the naked sword." To this, Wedderburn retorted that the olive branch ought to go in one hand, but the sword in the other. Leave was given, of course, and, on the twenty-first of April, the bill was brought in. On the twenty-eighth, Dowdeswell asked leave to submit a petition from Bollan, praying for delay until he should hear from Massachusetts; by a vote of thirty-two to ninety-five the request was denied. On the sixth of May, the bill passed the commons by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to twenty-four.

In the House of Lords

In the house of lords, the marquis of Rockingham reviewed the course of the ministry, declaring that the tea duty "was left as a pepper-corn, merely for the sake of contest with America" and that "the condition of men of honor and sensibility" would be far worse under the pending bill than before. A protest signed by eight lords denounced the bill as "an humiliating confession of the weakness and inefficacy of all the proceedings of Parliament," and the provision for trials of colonists in England as "extravagant in its principles" and "impracticable in its execution." On the eighteenth of May, the bill passed the lords by a vote of forty-three to twelve, and, two days later, became law by royal assent.

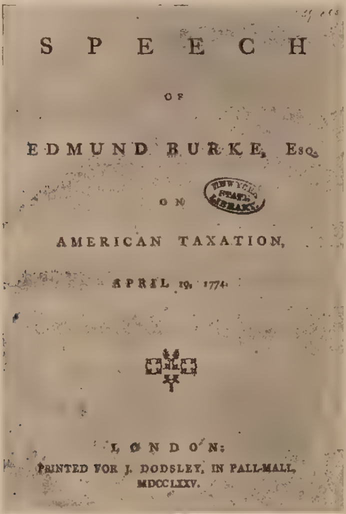
14 George III. cap. 39

Its Provisions

The act provided that any person indicted in Massachusetts for murder or other capital crime because of anything done by him in executing the revenue laws, suppressing riots, or performing his duties as a magistrate, might, in case a fair trial could not be secured in Massachusetts, be tried in another colony or in Great Britain; such transfer of the cause to be made under the direction of the governor and council. The act was to take effect on the first of June and to continue in force three years. On its face, the statute did not differ much from the present law of England and America where a person accused may be tried in some county or district other than that in which the alleged offense was committed; but, under circumstances then existing, such a trial would be equivalent to a conviction in advance.

Burke's Great Speech on Taxation

On the nineteenth of April, while the last two acts were under discussion in the commons, Mr. Rose Fuller moved the repeal of the tax of threepence a pound on tea. The feature of the debate that followed was the speech of Edmund Burke. Although the members rarely stayed to listen to Burke's speeches, everybody read them afterwards. This speech was an elaborate review of the parliamentary policy relative to the taxation of America—a masterly exposure of the false principles on which that policy was based and of the inconsistency that had attended its application. The acts of trade were a sufficient regulation: do not burden the colonists with taxes. "Your scheme yields no revenue; it yields nothing but discontent, disorder, disobedience; and such is the state of America, that after wading up to your eyes in blood, you could only end just where you begun." Burke spoke as a statesman, but the house was unsympathetic. Burgoyne, better known in America now than



SPEECH

OF

EDMUND BURKE, Esq.

ON

AMERICAN TAXATION,

APRIL 19, 1774.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. DODSLEY, IN PALL-MALL,
MDCCLXXV.

Title-page of the printed Edition of Burke's Speech he was then, spoke the prevailing sentiment of the house when he declared: "Sir, I look upon America to be our child, which I think we have already spoiled by too much indulgence." By a vote of forty-nine to one hundred and eighty-two, Fuller's motion was defeated. 1774

The Quartering Act

Lord North's plan was not yet complete. On the twenty-ninth of April, a bill "for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America" was introduced in the commons; ten days later, it passed that body without a division. Chatham attacked the bill in the house of lords as a measure the only necessity for which arose from the irritating policy that the ministry persisted in following. With prophetic insight, the great parliamentary leader exclaimed: "My lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America: for the day is not far distant when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms, but in arts also." The lords approved the bill, however, by a vote of fifty-seven to sixteen, and it became a law on the second of June. This act provided that whenever, in any colony, the quarters already required by law were not furnished within twenty-four hours of the arrival of troops, the governor might use "uninhabited houses, out-houses, barns, or other buildings," payment being made for the same at reasonable rates; it did not, as has sometimes been said, authorize the billeting of soldiers on the inhabitants of the colonies. The act was to continue in force until the twenty-fourth of March, 1776.

May 26

14 George III. cap. 54

The Quebec Bill

Near the end of the session, a bill "for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec" was introduced in the house of lords and there passed with little discussion. By the royal proclamation of October, 1763, Quebec had been promised a general assembly as soon as the circumstances of the colony should admit. The bill now submitted enlarged the boundaries of the province so as to include what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wis-

1774 consin; created a legislative council appointed by the crown and with complete authority except in matters of taxation; established the existing French law without jury trial for civil cases, and the English law with jury trial for criminal cases; admitted Roman Catholics to membership in the council; and confirmed the Roman Catholic clergy in the right of collecting tithes from persons of their own religion.

In the House of Commons

In the commons, however, the Quebec bill encountered vigorous opposition. It was pointed out that it was unnecessary, dangerous, and unprecedented for parliament to establish an arbitrary government in any part of the British dominions. The religious provisions were particularly attacked. The bill, it was said, did not tolerate Roman Catholicism, but established it. "The popish clergy have a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance; the protestant clergy are left at the king's discretion." At this time, in England, Roman Catholics were excluded from office and prohibited from buying land; priests who said mass were liable to perpetual imprisonment; and the estates of Roman Catholic heirs educated abroad were forfeitable to the next Protestant heir. The opposition led to several minor amendments, but the bill became a law without any important change.

14 George III. cap. 83

Whether it was "a sop to the Canadian people, intended to detach them from the common American cause," and "an object-lesson in despotic government"—"at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies," or an expression of "the honest efforts of British statesmen to solve the difficult problem of governing the dominion taken from France in 1763," the Quebec act was ill-timed and disastrous. Among the English colonists it was counted one of their serious grievances and was bitterly denounced; among the French Canadians it wrought additional discontent.

Parliament Prorogued

The king's speech closing the session spoke of the Quebec act as "founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity." The "temper and firmness" with

1774 which the situation in America had been met "cannot fail of giving the greatest weight to the measures which have been the result of your deliberations. Nothing that depends on me," the king continued, "shall be wanting to render them effectual. It is my most anxious desire to see my deluded subjects in that part of the world returning to a sense of their duty; acquiescing in that just subordination to the authority, and maintaining that due regard to the commercial interests of this country, which must ever be inseparably connected with their own real prosperity and advantage." On the same day, parliament was prorogued to the fourth of August. June 22

CHAPTER XII

MOVING TOWARD UNION

Hutchinson's Address to the General Court

THE Massachusetts general court had been prorogued until the twelfth of January, 1774. Hutchinson would apparently have been glad to wait until he knew the plans of the ministry, but he did not dare postpone a meeting so long and ventured to defer it only till the twenty-sixth. When the court met, the governor made no reference to the tea, but mentioned such things only as, in his opinion, "were least likely to give room for any harsh or unkind return." He did, however, inform the court that the king disapproved of "the appointment of committees of correspondence, in various instances, which sit and act during the recess of the general court."

The Reply of the House

The reply of the house was a vigorous defense of its course. "While the common rights of the American subjects continue to be attacked in various instances, and at times when the several assemblies are not sitting, it is highly necessary that they should correspond with each other, in order to unite in the most effectual means for the obtaining a redress of their grievances." Since the governor and other crown officers had seen fit to correspond with ministers and others in England, to the manifest injury of the province, it could not be thought unreasonable for the colonists to correspond with their agents and others with a view to correcting the misinformation with which the king had been misled, and of obtaining, if possible, redress of grievances.

Salaries of the Judges

More important was the determination of the house that the salaries of four hundred pounds each, fixed by the crown, should not be accepted by the judges who should receive compensation from the colonial treasury as formerly. One of the members of the superior court, Trowbridge, characterized by Hutchinson as "of weak nerves and a timid spirit," made his peace with the assembly, whereupon the house gave the other members eight days in which to say whether or not they had received the full grant made by the general court the previous year and to declare that in future, "according to invariable usage," they would continue to accept such grants and no others. Three of the judges yielded, but the chief-justice, Peter Oliver, brother of the lieutenant-governor and brother-in-law of the governor, refused.

The Chief-justice Impeached

Then the house asked for Oliver's removal on the grounds that he "had perversely and corruptly done that which hath an obvious and direct tendency to the perversion of law and justice; that he had thereby proved himself an enemy to the constitution of the province, and placed himself under an undue bias, detached himself totally from his connections with the people, and lost their confidence; and rendered himself altogether disqualified any longer to hold and act in the office of a justice of the superior court." The governor replied that the removal of Oliver for taking a salary from the crown would be a breach of trust. The house responded by impeaching Oliver of high crimes and misdemeanors. Hutchinson declined to attend the council meeting at which the charges were presented; but the committee, headed by Adams, declared that the governor was "presumed" to be present, and went on. The council was in sympathy with the house and it seemed likely that the council would proceed to the trial whether the governor was present or not.

Hutchinson Dissolves the General Court

Hutchinson had already informed the house that he intended to avail himself of the king's leave to go to England. When he sought to terminate the session of the general court, the house closed its doors and refused

1774

March 3

admission to the governor's secretary until they had voted instructions to the committee of correspondence to lay the matter of the judges' salaries and other grievances before the other colonies, and to transmit an account of the affair to Franklin in England. The general court was first prorogued and then dissolved. Hutchinson's departure was delayed by the death of the lieutenant-governor. So inflamed was party feeling that "a large mob attended upon his interment and hurrahed at the intombing of his body, and that night there was an exhibition at a public window of a coffin and insignia of infamy." At Hutchinson's suggestion, Thomas Oliver was appointed lieutenant-governor.

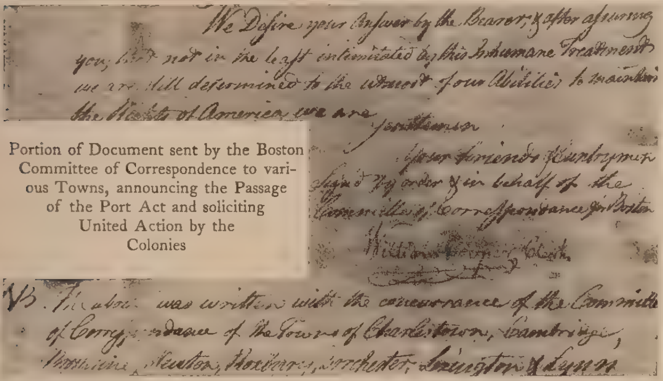
Gage Succeeds Hutchinson

Coat of Arms of Thomas Gage

Stoutly as Hutchinson had contended for the royal prerogative, the ministerial policy of coercion required a different man, and, early in April, General Gage was appointed to succeed him. On the thirteenth of May, Gage arrived at Boston. On the first of June, Hutchinson sailed for England, never to return. He carried with him many complimentary addresses and the execrations of the populace. His property was later confiscated; a town that had borne his name gave it up and took that of Barré instead. He died near London on the third of June, 1780. "No public man in America," says John Fiske, "has ever been the object of more virulent hatred. None has been more grossly misrepresented by historians."

The Appeal of Boston

A copy of the port act reached Boston on the tenth of May. Under the lead of Joseph Warren, the committee of correspondence called a conference of the neighboring towns, and, on the twelfth, the committees for Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Brookline, Newton, Roxbury, Dorchester, Lexington, and Lynn met in Faneuil Hall. Commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain was proposed and united action by the colonies urged. "Now is the time when all should be united in opposition to this violation of the liberties of all. . . . The single Question then is, weather you consider Boston as now suffering in the common cause & sensibly feal & resent the Injury & Affront offered to her. We cannot believe otherwise; . . . not in the least intimidated by this Inhumane Treatment, we are still determined to the utmost of our Abilities to maintain the Rights of America." The next day, the Boston town-meeting, of which Samuel Adams was moderator, appealed "to all the sister colonies, promising to suffer for America with a becoming fortitude, confessing that singly they might find their trial too severe, and entreating not to be left to struggle alone, when the very being of every colony, considered as a free people, depended upon the event."



We Desire your Answer by the Bearer; & after assuring you, that not in the least intimidated by this Inhumane Treatment we are still determined to the utmost of our Abilities to maintain the Rights of America, we are

Gentlemen

Your friends & Countrymen

Sign'd by order & in behalf of the Committee of Correspondance in Boston

William Cooper, Clerk

N.B. The above was written with the concurrence of the Committee of Correspondance of the Towns of Charlestown, Cambridge, Brookline, Newton, Roxbury, Dorchester, Lexington & Lynn

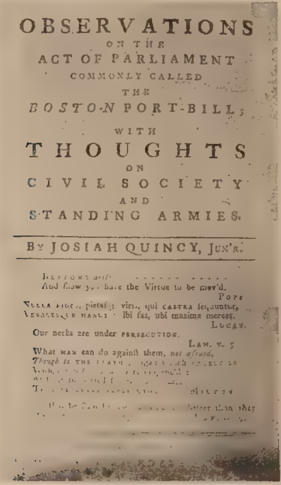
Portion of Document sent by the Boston Committee of Correspondence to various Towns, announcing the Passage of the Port Act and soliciting United Action by the Colonies

The Arrival of Governor Gage

General Gage arrived in the harbor on the day of the town-meeting and spent several days with Hutchinson at Castle William. On the seventeenth, he landed at the long wharf. There were salutes of artillery, lines of soldiers, and a state dinner in Faneuil Hall. The general court convened on the twenty-sixth. Twelve of the newly chosen councilors were objected to and announcement was made of the king's command to hold the sessions of the court, after the first of June, at Salem. At noon on the first of June, to the accompaniment of tolling church-bells, a display of mourning emblems, and

1774

fasting and prayer, the Boston port act went into effect. "The law was executed," says Bancroft, "with a rigor that went beyond the intentions of its authors. Not a scow could be manned by oars to bring an ox, or a sheep, or a bundle of hay from the islands. All water carriage from wharf to wharf, though but of lumber, or bricks, or lime, was strictly forbidden. The boats between Boston and Charlestown could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River; the fishermen of Marblehead, when from their hard pursuit they bestowed quintals of dried fish on the poor of Boston, were obliged to transport their offering in wagons by a circuit of thirty miles."



OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
ACT OF PARLIAMENT
COMMONLY CALLED
THE
BOSTON PORT-BILL;
WITH
THOUGHTS
ON
CIVIL SOCIETY
AND
STANDING ARMIES.

BY JOSIAH QUINCY, JUN'R.

And show you have the Virtue to be mov'd.
POPE

NULLA FIDES, pietasque viris, qui CASTRA sequuntur,
VENALESQUE MANUS: ibi fas, ubi maxima merces.
LUCAN.

Our necks are under PERSECUTION.
LAM. v. 5

What man can do against them, *not afraid*,

Title-page of Josiah Quincy's Pamphlet on the Boston Port Bill

Salem Becomes the Capital

When the general court met at Salem, the house, before proceeding to other business, entered its protest against the removal of the court from Boston. In reply to the governor's speech, the council expressed the hope "that your administration in the principles and general conduct of it, may be a happy contrast to that of your two immediate predecessors." At this point, Gage interrupted the chairman of the committee that presented the address, declaring that he could not receive an address "which reflected so highly on his predecessors;" he later informed the council in writing that he considered the address "as an insult upon his Majesty and the Lords of his Privy Council, and an affront" to himself. Meantime, the Boston town-meeting had adopted a "solemn league and covenant" pledging commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain after the thirty-first of August, and had sent copies of the agreement throughout the colony.

June 9

1774

Massachusetts Calls a Continental Congress

On the seventeenth of June, Adams being assured of the support of a majority of the house, the doors were locked and the following resolution was adopted: "That a meeting of Committees from the several Colonies on this Continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of certain Acts of Parliament respecting America, and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all good men: Therefore, resolved, that the Honourable James Bowdoin, Esq., the Honourable Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed a committee on the part of this Province, for the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum, to meet such Committees or Delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective Houses of Burgesses or Representatives, or by Convention, or by the Committees of Correspondence appointed by the respective Houses of Assembly, in the City of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the Committee, on the first day of September next; and that the Speaker of the House be directed, in a letter to the Speakers of the Houses of Burgesses or Representatives in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these resolves." Of the one hundred and twenty-nine members present, only twelve dissented.

Gage Dissolves the General Court

As soon as Gage learned what was going on, he sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly. Finding the door locked, the secretary sent in word by the messenger that he desired admission in order that he might present a message from his excellency the governor. The reply was that the house was "upon very important business, 1774 which when they had finished they would let him in." Upon the stairs, in the presence of a number of the members of the house and other persons, and immediately after in the council chamber, the secretary read a proclamation dissolving the general court. "I could not get a worse council or a worse assembly," reported Gage.

The Port-act Meeting at Boston

On the seventeenth of June, the freeholders and other inhabitants of Boston met to consider measures "relative to the late edict of a British parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston and annihilating the trade of this town." Drawn at last from his law practice and his private studies, John Adams was chosen moderator, Sam Adams being in attendance at the general court at Salem, where, that day, both were chosen delegates to the coming continental congress. The inhabitants directed that the other colonies be notified that they were entering into a non-consumption agreement "with an unexampled spirit and unanimity," returned thanks to "our brethren on the continent" for their "humanity, sympathy, and affection," and provided for the distribution of all "grants and donations to this town and the poor thereof at this distressing season."

Gage's Army of Coercion

The first of the troops sent to assist Gage in maintaining the royal authority and enforcing the recent acts of parliament had arrived at Boston on the fourteenth of June. The two regiments encamped on the common. Two additional regiments arrived early in July, a fifth was stationed at Salem, and others were reported on the way.

Connecticut Sends Relief

Boston's port was closed but her people were not left to starve. Contributions poured in from every quarter. Two letter books now in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society contain the record of material relief and political encouragement. From Maine to Georgia came donations of money, clothing, and provisions. The general feeling may be read in messages from some of the Connecticut towns. The Lebanon committee wrote that "the Province of Massachusetts Bay and the Town of Boston are entitled to the most grateful thanks of all English America," and accompanied the sentiment with "376 fat sheep with beef to the value of thirty pounds yet to go." From Norwich came word that "291 sheep will go." Windham (now Willimantic) sent "a small flock of sheep," numbering two hundred and fifty-eight. Coventry sent two hundred and twenty sheep, while the Reverend Aaron Cleaveland of Canterbury contributed "a beef cow" as his "little mite." Groton sent one hundred and twenty sheep and six fat cattle. The "small donation" of Woodstock was accompanied by a message that "we are willing to sacrifice all that is dear and valuable to us rather than suffer the patriotic inhabitants of the Town of Boston to be overwhelmed by their adversaries." Preston, Killingly, East Haddam, and other towns joined; and Israel Putnam wrote: "We cannot but rejoice with you on account of the union and firmness of the continent."

From Quebec to Carolina

Of the other colonies, South Carolina was the first to respond, dispatching two hundred barrels of rice early in June, with Christopher Gadsden's emphatic "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea!" Wilmington, North Carolina, raised two hundred pounds in colonial currency and offered supplies and a ship to carry them. Maryland contributed liberally, and from Virginia the frontiersmen of Augusta County sent one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour, while at the head of the Fairfax County list stood the name of George Washington with a subscription of fifty pounds. Even the far-away French inhabitants of Quebec shipped a thousand bushels of wheat. To be sure, there was scarcity in the afflicted town and acute suffering among its poor, but the contributions enabled Boston to hold out and prevented the success of the policy of coercion. At all events, the distress did not force the sufferers into giving what was demanded—an apology for the past, a promise for the future, and payment for the tea.

Chris Gadsden

Autograph of Christopher Gadsden

1774

Continental Solidarity

As copies of the Boston port act were received in the different colonies, they were printed and scattered broadcast. "In some places," says Gordon, "they were printed upon mourning paper with a black border, and cried about the streets under the title of *a barbarous, cruel, bloody and inhuman murder;* in others, great bodies of the people were called together by advertisement, and the obnoxious law burned with great solemnity, similar to what was done in the time of the Stamp Act." The Virginia house of burgesses adopted resolutions recommending that the first of June be observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Among those who prayed and fasted was George Washington, while George Mason "charged his little household of sons and daughters to keep the day strictly, and attend church clad in mourning." At Philadelphia, church bells were tolled, flags were hung at half-mast on the vessels in the river, and most of the houses were closed. About this time, the patriot party took the name of Whigs; the loyalists, those who were unwilling openly to resist the mother country, became known as Tories. The word "Continental" had come into use with much the same meaning that "American" has now. May 24

Massachusetts Opinion

In Massachusetts, meantime, the military spirit rose, military drill was organized, ammunition was collected, and arms were put in readiness. The British soldiers in Boston were subjected to many annoyances and some of them deserted. In spite of Gage's efforts, town after town adopted the "solemn league and covenant," and prepared for the self-denial of non-importation and non-consumption. The publication of the Massachusetts government act and the administration of justice act and the distribution of copies broadcast, deepened the resentment against the ministry and brought converts to the colonial cause. The loyalists were also active, but the only result of their efforts was to confirm the governor's erroneous impressions of public opinion in the province. June 3

Official copies of the recent acts relating to Massachusetts were received on the sixth of August, with instructions to put the acts in force at whatever cost. With the

1774

The New Council

acts was sent a list of thirty-six councilors appointed by the crown. Twenty-four of the thirty-six promptly accepted office; among them was the Timothy Ruggles who had presided over the stamp-act congress. A meeting of the council was held on the sixteenth, but the "mandamus councilors," as they were called, were soon made to feel the weight of popular disapproval. The business of the courts was suspended, the grand jurors refusing to take the oath or to act under new judges and laws, and the petit jurors refusing to recognize a chief-justice who was under impeachment. Even the clerks of court were compelled to apologize for having issued warrants summoning the jurors and to promise not to offend in like manner again.

A Provincial Congress Proposed

August 26 and 27

To provide against the anarchy that must follow a general disregard of existing government, the Worcester committee of correspondence proposed a conference of the various committees of the province. A meeting was accordingly held in Faneuil Hall at which it was resolved to form a provincial congress. In the interval, the convention declared, the courts ought to continue to be opposed and "the military art, according to the Norfolk plan, ought to be attentively practised." Three days later, a convention of one hundred and fifty delegates, representing every town in Middlesex County, met at Concord and endorsed the sentiments of the Boston meeting.

Gage takes off the Glove

August 24

Gage was thoroughly alarmed by the spirit of opposition that showed itself on every hand and by the military preparation. He had already ordered out troops to break up a meeting at Salem that was held in defiance of his proclamation forbidding it; but the people had transacted their business and dispersed before the troops arrived. He now proceeded to erect fortifications across Boston Neck, the only avenue of approach by land to the town. On the first of September, he seized two hundred and fifty barrels of powder at Charlestown and two cannons at Cambridge. On the following day, a crowd assembled and compelled Lieutenant-governor Oliver and several of the "mandamus councilors" to resign. A false report that the ships of war were bom-

1774 barding the town brought armed men from the surrounding country, and even from Connecticut. Notwithstanding the protests of the selectmen, Gage continued his fortifications and soon mounted two 24-pounders and eight 9-pounders. "It was necessary," he said, "to provide for the safety of the troops;" if the people would conduct themselves peaceably, so would he.

John Adams On the thirty-first of May, John Adams wrote in his diary: "Have I patience and industry enough to write a history of the contest between Great Britain and America?" He had held sedulously aloof from politics, refusing even to attend town-meetings. The seventeenth of June found him a delegate from Massachusetts to the colonial congress soon to be held. On the twentieth, he wrote in his diary: "I feel myself unequal to this business. . . . What can be done? Will it be expedient to propose an annual congress of committees? to petition? Will it do to petition at all?—to the King? to the Lords? to the Commons? What will such consultations avail? Deliberations alone will not do." And again, five days later: "I feel unutterable anxiety. God grant us wisdom and fortitude! Should the opposition be suppressed, should this country submit, what infamy and ruin! God forbid. Death in any form is less terrible!" Thus anxiously, thus grimly, did this great patriot move forward into the inevitable conflict. Others were more confident, others had formed more definite plans; but he, drawn suddenly and unwillingly into the center of the storm, realized its seriousness and counted the cost.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

The Growth of Union Sentiment

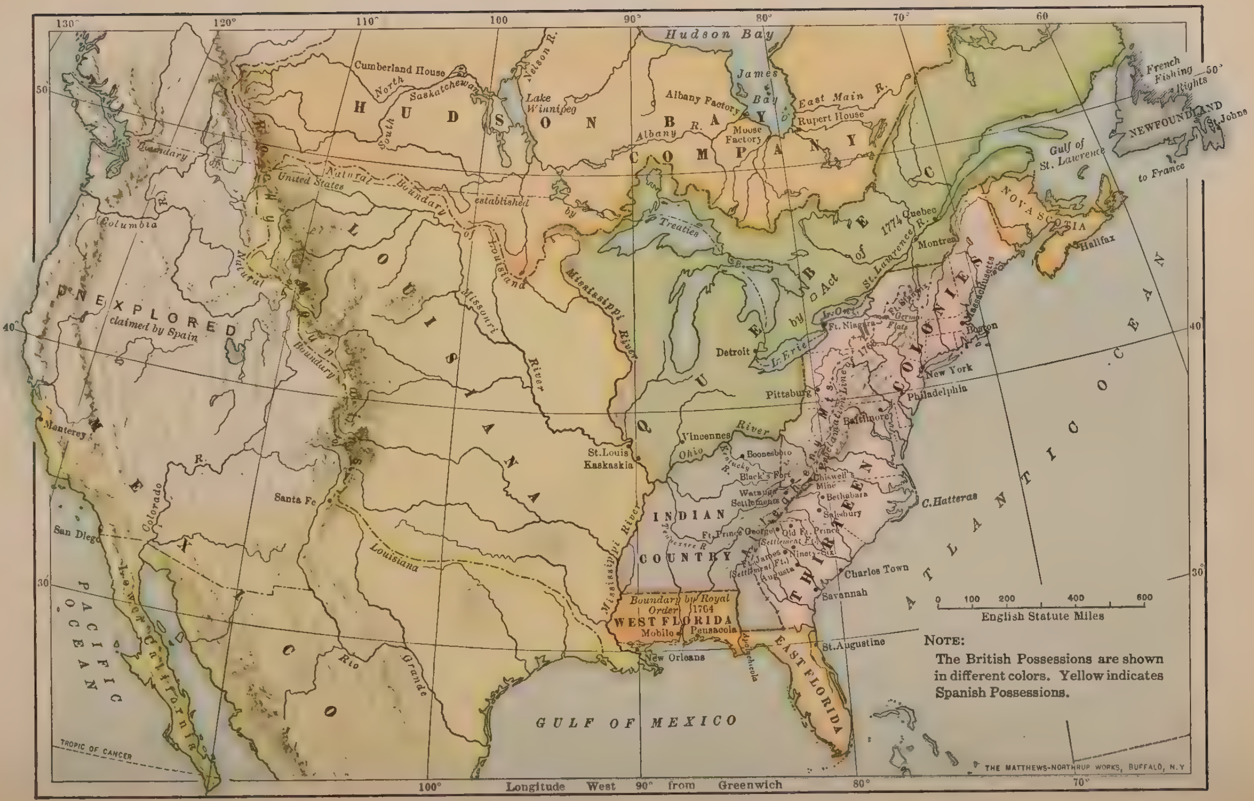
THE call for a congress of the colonies, issued by the general court of Massachusetts in June, 1774, was mentioned in the preceding chapter. Massachusetts was not the first, however, to suggest such a conference. The idea was in the air and proposals to the same effect came almost simultaneously from various parts of the country. In May, the New York committee of correspondence proposed "a general congress," the freemen of Providence voted in favor of such an assembly, and Philadelphia, Connecticut, and New Jersey followed. After expressing its sympathy for Boston, the Virginia house of burgesses was dissolved by Governor Dunmore on the twenty-sixth, but its members met the next day at the Raleigh Tavern and proposed an annual continental congress. Similar action promptly taken elsewhere testified to the growth of the sentiment of union and of the feeling that the cause of one was the cause of all.

May 17

Choosing the Delegates

The Rhode Island assembly had already chosen delegates to the congress, two days before the adoption of the Massachusetts resolution. In Connecticut, the committee of correspondence, acting under the authority of a vote passed by the assembly made its appointments on the thirteenth of July. In New Hampshire, the choice was made by a convention at Exeter, on the twenty-first of July, the assembly having been dissolved by Governor Wentworth and a proposed convention at Ports-

June 3



BRITISH AND OTHER POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1775

Compiled by David Maydole Matteson, A. M., Cambridge, Mass.

mouth broken up. In similar manner, Maryland chose its representatives on the twenty-fifth of June, and New Jersey on the twenty-third of July. In New York, where a factional struggle was going on between the friends of Alexander MacDougall, formerly prominent in the "Sons of Liberty," and the moderate party headed by John Jay, the committee of correspondence declined to act and the delegates were finally selected by a city committee. Three counties chose separate delegations but the province as a whole was not represented. At the call of a Philadelphia committee, Pennsylvania held a meeting of delegates from the several counties, Governor Penn having refused to convoke the assembly for the purpose. The Virginia convention chose representatives and declared in favor of non-importation. Of the southern colonies, Georgia alone failed to choose delegates.

August 1

The Organization

At ten o'clock on Monday, the fifth of September, the delegates met at the City Tavern in Philadelphia and walked to Carpenters' Hall, where rooms had been provided for the congress. The fifty-five delegates who eventually attended the meetings formed the ablest body of men that had ever met in America. From Massachusetts came Cushing, the Adamses, and Robert Treat Paine; from Rhode Island, Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward; from Connecticut, Roger Sherman and Silas Deane; from New York, John Jay and Philip Livingston; from Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin and Joseph Galloway; from Maryland, Samuel Chase; from Virginia, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Harrison; from South Carolina, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, and Christopher Gadsden. The congress chose the aged Randolph as its president, and Charles Thomson of Philadelphia, who was not a delegate, as its secretary. The delegates from North Carolina did not appear until the fourteenth of September, and Georgia was not represented, although she gave a promise to concur with her sister colonies. "One third whigs, another tories, the rest mongrel," said John Adams.

1774

Diversity and Unity

There were differences of interest, religious bias, and personal tastes that would obviously prove difficult to harmonize. There were "fine fellows from Virginia," and the accomplished Rutledge from South Carolina. On the other hand, Samuel Adams came weighted with the odious title of "demagogue," because he dressed plainly and had preferred to associate with rough and honest workmen, "with whom, sitting on a spar or loitering in a workshop, he would spend long and instructive hours." In ability, he was the peer of any of his colleagues, but he was poor, and, what was more, he was not ashamed of it! Left to himself, he would have mingled with the delegates at Philadelphia in the somewhat inappropriate garb in which he was wont to thread the streets of Boston. We are told, however, that the tailor, the hatter, the bootmaker, and the haberdasher, sent by unknown friends, appeared at his house and furnished him with a complete outfit, "not, however, of the full sumptuousness of Hancock's." The unifying element in the congress was not equality of social condition, but the fact that all were British subjects, met to obtain redress of grievances and to restore harmony between Great Britain and America.

John Hancock's crimson velvet Coat

Secret Sessions

At the first session, a motion by Duane of New York for the appointment of a committee on rules plunged the congress at once into a debate that continued until the next day. The chief point at issue was the method of voting, on which Patrick Henry made a fervid speech, preserved for us in the notes of John Adams. "Government," he exclaimed, "is dissolved. . . . We are in a state of nature. . . . The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." He favored a representation based on the respective numbers of freemen. Lynch of South Carolina would combine freemen and property. Lee thought that the congress had not before it sufficient information to determine the question, while Gadsden was for a vote by colonies, each colony to have one vote. Gadsden's suggestion was adopted, but "as this was objected to as unequal, an entry was made on the journals to prevent its being drawn into a precedent." It was further agreed that the sessions of the congress should be secret; that nothing should be made public without the consent of the majority.

An Excellent Prayer

When the congress met on Tuesday, Samuel Adams moved that the Reverend Jacob Duché, an Episcopalian minister of Philadelphia, be requested to open the next day's proceedings with prayers. Adams wrote to Joseph Warren that he thought it prudent to choose an Episcopalian for this service, "as many of our warmest friends are members of the Church of England;" moreover, he asserted, "he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue who was at the same time a friend to his country." That day, also, came the alarming rumor that Boston was being bombarded. On Wednesday morning, Mr. Duché presented himself in his robes, read the prayers and the Psalm for the day (the thirty-fifth Psalm, "Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me!"), and then, "unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present." Cushing and Ward were deputed to convey the thanks of the congress to Mr. Duché "for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on the occasion."

September 7

The Suffolk Resolves

Two committees were appointed, one to state the rights of the colonies, the instances in which those rights had been violated or infringed, and the best means of obtaining their restoration; the other to examine the

1774 several English statutes affecting colonial trade and manufactures and to report thereon. For several days, nothing further of importance was done. On the seventeenth, the Massachusetts delegates laid before the congress the resolutions adopted at Concord, on the sixth of September, by representatives from every town and district in Suffolk County, together with a letter of the ninth of September to General Gage. The resolutions, the work of Joseph Warren, denounced the recent acts of parliament affecting Massachusetts as "gross infractions of those rights to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British Constitution, and the Charter of the Province," and declared that no obedience was due to them; asserted that the courts of the province, not being organized according to the charter and laws, were unconstitutional, and that those who refused to recognize them should be upheld; demanded the resignation of all "mandamus councilors" by the twentieth of September, under pain of being considered "as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country;" protested against the fortification of Boston Neck and the seizure of the powder at Charlestown; and recommended commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain and the encouragement of domestic manufactures. To the measures of the congress at Philadelphia, they pledged "all due respect and submission."

Their Effect

The "Suffolk Resolves," the fullest statement of the case for Massachusetts that had yet been made, had been hurried off to Philadelphia by an express rider, Paul Revere. Congress received them with enthusiasm, approved the conduct of Massachusetts, and "earnestly recommended" a "perseverence in the same firm and temperate conduct." It was also resolved that contributions for the relief of Boston ought to continue as long as necessary. There had been many difficulties to overcome, personal antagonisms to remove, sectional differences to adjust and arrange. Now the congress began to see its way to act. The "Suffolk Resolves" helped greatly in uniting the delegates at Philadelphia in a com-

1774

mon purpose for a common cause. Five days after the receipt of the resolves, a resolution was passed requesting merchants not to order goods from England and to suspend orders already given until the conclusions of the congress "on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America" were made known. On the twenty-seventh, non-importation and non-consumption of British goods after the first day of December were unanimously voted.

View of North Square, Boston

(The house with overhanging second story was the homestead of Paul Revere; it was erected soon after the fire of 1676)

Galloway's Plan

From the beginning, there were two parties in the congress, sharply opposed on the question of how far resistance to parliament and ministry should go. One party inclined to a somewhat heroic policy that strongly savored of independence; the other party was for resistance to any length that did not involve the use of force. Joseph Galloway had drawn his own instructions and signed them as speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly. They contained an injunction "to avoid everything indecent and disrespectful to the mother state." On the twenty-eighth of September, he submitted a plan for a union between Great Britain

1774 and the colonies, together with a preliminary resolve which declared "that the colonies hold in abhorrence the idea of being considered independent communities of the British Government." The resolution was seconded by Duane. The plan proposed a legislature for administering the general affairs of the colonies. The government was to be vested in a president-general appointed by the king, and a grand council chosen by the colonial assemblies. The president-general was to hold his office at the king's pleasure and to exercise, in conjunction with the council, all legislative power necessary for dealing with intercolonial affairs and matters in which Great Britain was concerned. The plan seems to have been regarded as an insidious scheme for perpetuating colonial dependence. Eventually, it was condemned and all references to it were ordered expunged from the journal.

Congress Finds Its Voice

On the sixth of October, Paul Revere again appeared at Philadelphia with a letter from the Boston committee of correspondence telling of the progress of the fortifications and the continuance of military preparations there, and praying the advice of congress as to whether the patriotic inhabitants should leave the town, or should allow themselves to be virtually held as "hostages for the submission of the Country." Congress by resolution formally approved what had been done by the people of Massachusetts and declared that, if an attempt should be made to execute the acts of parliament by force, "all America ought to support them in their opposition." Subsequent resolutions urged that, in case the inhabitants of Boston found it absolutely necessary to abandon the town, "all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain;" and that all persons accept-

Paul Revere's Pistol

ing office or acting under the obnoxious acts "ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact have given to America." These resolutions passed unanimously. A further motion, however, recommending the inhabitants of Massachusetts to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice where justice could not be had under the charter and laws of the province, was carried by a majority only, Richard Henry Lee being among those who voted against it.

A Conservative but Resolute Majority

The debates attending the passage of these and other resolutions of the congress, and the opposition that in some cases prevented unanimity, showed the lack of accord among the delegates as to the best line of action. Between the radicals who would not hesitate to provoke a rupture, and the extreme conservatives who drew back from every hint of independence, were the majority bent upon asserting the rights of the colonies without giving Great Britain any just cause of offense. Washington wrote: "I am well satisfied that no such thing [as independence] is desired by any thinking man in all North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty that peace and tranquillity, on constitutional grounds, may be restored and the horrors of civil discord prevented." To the same effect wrote John Adams: "If it is a secret hope of many, as I suspect it is, that the congress will advise to offensive measures, they will be mistaken. . . . Their [the delegates] opinions are fixed against hostilities and rupture, except they should become absolutely necessary; and this necessity they do not yet see."

October 9

The Declaration of Rights

On the fourteenth of October, congress agreed to the "declaration and resolves" reported by its committee on the rights and grievances of the colonies. This great state paper, after summarily reviewing the grievances of the colonies, declares: 1, that the colonists, by the laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and

1774 their own charters and laws, are entitled to life, liberty, and property; 2, that they have inherited from the ancestors who settled America "all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born" English subjects so far as their local circumstances permit; 3, that they are entitled to the common law of England including trial by jury, to such English statutes in force at the time of colonization as are locally applicable, and to the privileges of their charters and laws; 4, that they have a right peaceably to assemble and to petition the king; 5, that the maintenance of a standing army in a colony in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature, is contrary to law; and, 6, that the exercise of legislative power by a council appointed by the king and holding office during the royal pleasure is "unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation." A list of the parliamentary statutes that were held to be infringements of these rights was also given.

The Regulation of Commerce

The fourth resolve, dealing with the crucial question of the right of parliament to regulate trade, occasioned long debate and elicited great difference of opinion. According to John Adams's diary, the debate on the thirteenth continued from ten o'clock until half-past four; five colonies being in favor of conceding the right and five opposed, while two, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were divided among themselves. The resolution as adopted, prepared originally by John Adams and not essentially altered by the congress, is as follows: "That the foundation of English Liberty, and of all free Government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council: and as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where their right of Representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the necessity of the case and a regard to the mutual interest of both Countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament, as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of Taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects, in America, without their consent." 1774

An Untenable Position

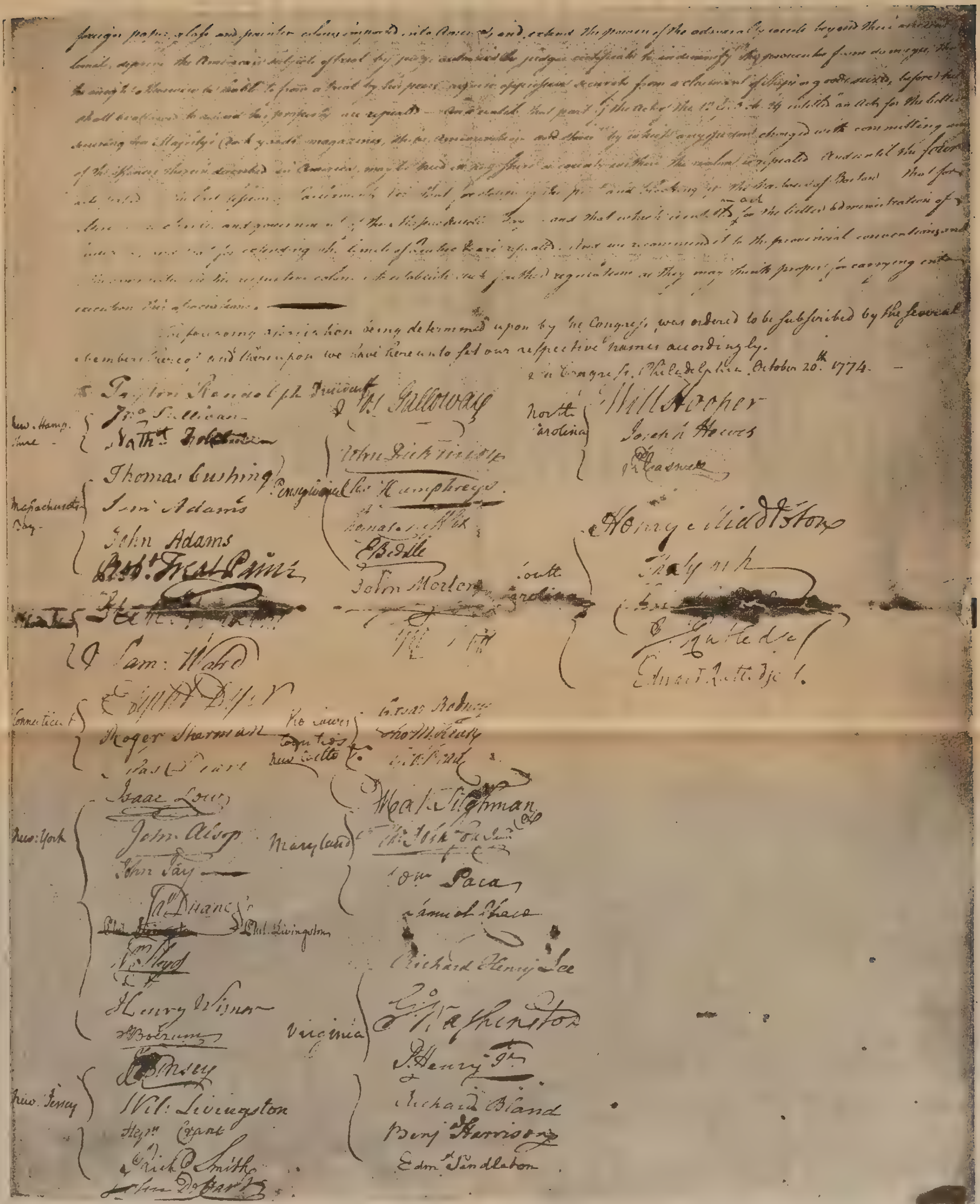
This resolution, carefully read, indicates strong differences of opinion regarding the most vital issue then before the country. It asserts complete legislative independence of Great Britain in internal affairs and taxation, yet concedes to parliament the right to regulate colonial trade; in other words, it does not hang well together. It embodies, in a modified form, the principle that James Otis had enunciated in his speech against the writs of assistance and that derived its only validity from the assumption that commercial regulation was not taxation. Of course, commercial regulation might not take the form of taxation, especially if the net produce of fees and other charges was devoted to colonial uses. But since the parliamentary right to regulate, if it existed at all, existed completely and without limit, it might at any time happen that what was done by parliament under the name of regulation would appear to the colonies, and appear in fact, as a tax. The resolution thus represents a half-way point, an untenable position beyond which the congress did not as yet feel able to go. To go further meant independence; it was necessary to wait.

The Association of the United Colonies

On Friday, the thirtieth of September, the congress had voted that all exportation to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies ought to cease from and after the tenth of September, 1775, "unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time," and appointed a committee to bring in a plan for carrying the resolution into effect. The report of the committee was brought in on the twelfth of October, agreed to on the eighteenth, 1774 and signed by fifty-three members on the twentieth. This agreement, known as the "Association," pledged the colonies to the non-importation of British goods, East India tea, molasses, coffee, or pimento from British colonies, Madeira wines, or indigo, after the first of December following. No slaves were to be imported and the slave-trade was to be wholly discontinued. To the pledge of non-importation was added that of non-consumption of the proscribed commodities. Non-exportation, however, was suspended until the tenth of September, 1775, and then was not to include rice. The improvement of the breed of sheep was recommended, and all extravagance, such as horse-racing, gaming, cock-fighting, shows and plays, excessive display of mourning, and "the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals," was to be discouraged. No one was to be allowed to take advantage of the scarcity of goods to raise prices. For the enforcement of the "Association," committees were to be chosen in every county and town, with authority "attentively to observe the conduct of all persons" touching the agreement; the names of violators to be published, that they may be "publickly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American Liberty."

Opposition and Compromise

This "self-denying ordinance," calling as it did for universal patriotism, was agreed to only after earnest discussion and with pronounced opposition. Some regarded the scheme as impracticable; some foresaw general bankruptcy following a general cessation of trade. "How shall the buyer know," asked Chase, "whether the duties have been paid or not?" "Many gentlemen in this room," replied Lynch of South Carolina, "know how to bring in goods, sugars, and others, without paying duties." While most of the delegates favored non-importation, the opposition to non-exportation was strong in both the New England and the middle colonies that traded extensively with the West Indies, and in the southern colonies that sold their staple products mainly in Europe. Virginia urged that non-exportation be postponed, while South Carolina "refused to accede to any



The foregoing association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof; and thereupon we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

In Congress, Philadelphia, October 20th 1774. —

Peyton Randolph President

New Hampshire
Jno. Sullivan
Nathl Folsom

Massachusetts Bay
Thomas Cushing
Saml Adams
John Adams
Robt Treat Paine

[illegible]
Sam: Ward

Connecticut
Eliphalet Dyer
Roger Sherman
Silas Deane

New York
Isaac Low
John Alsop
John Jay
Jas Duane
Phil. Livingston
Wm Floyd
Henry Wisner
S: Boerum

New Jersey
J. Kinsey
Wil. Livingston
Stepn Crane
Richd Smith
John De Hart

Pennsylvania
Jos. Galloway
John Dickinson
Chas Humphreys
Thomas Mifflin
E Biddle
John Morton
Geo: Ross

The lower Counties New Castle &c.
Caesar Rodney
Tho McKean
Geo: Read

Maryland
Mat Tilghman
Ths Johnson Junr
Wm Paca
Samuel Chase

Virginia
Richard Henry Lee
G. Washington
P. Henry Jr.
Richard Bland
Benj Harrison
Edmd Pendleton

North Carolina
Will Hooper
Joseph Hewes
Rd Caswell

South Carolina
Henry Middleton
Thos Lynch
[illegible]
J. Rutledge
Edward Rutledge

LAST PAGE OF ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, WITH AUTOGRAPHS OF ALL MEMBERS

From original in the Library of Congress

measure which should prohibit the exportation of rice or indigo." Virginia withdrew its opposition, but South Carolina saved its rice which was exempted from the operation of the "Association." 1774

An Address to the People of England

An address to the people of Great Britain, drafted by John Jay, was agreed to on the twenty-first of October. It reviews at length the history of the relations between the colonies and the mother country and urges strongly the injustice and unwarrantableness of the late acts of parliament. "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of Government, and desirous of Independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness; we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire; we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own. But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the Constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any Ministry or Nation in the world."

Memorial Letter and Petition

A still more elaborate and detailed historical review was presented in a memorial to the people of the colonies, drafted by Richard Henry Lee and adopted by the congress on the twenty-first of October. The policy of commercial retaliation, embodied in the "Association," was particularly commended and its scrupulous observance earnestly urged; while at the same time the people were exhorted to "be in all respects prepared for every contingency." A letter to the inhabitants of Quebec, prepared by John Dickinson, was agreed to on the twenty-sixth. The people of Quebec were assured that "your province is the only link wanting to compleat the bright and strong chain of union;" and the cause of civil and religious liberty, to both of which the policy of the

1774 ministry was declared to be opposed, was fervidly urged. The letter was translated into French and extensively circulated, but alone of all the measures of the congress failed to awaken response. Last of all came a petition to the king. The first draft, prepared by Patrick Henry, was not satisfactory, and another, more conciliatory in tone, was made by Dickinson. "We ask but for Peace, Liberty, and Safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. . . . We present this Petition only to obtain redress of Grievances and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of Statutes and Regulations adopted since the close of the late war." Adjournment Then, with thanks to the house of representatives of Pennsylvania for the courtesies extended to it, the congress dissolved. October 26 It had already provided for the holding of another congress on the tenth of May, 1775, at Philadelphia, "unless the redress of grievances which we have desired be obtained before that time."

An American Sovereign

The first continental congress occupies a position of peculiar interest in the development of American federal government. The members were variously chosen. They were without instructions, save to discuss the grievances of the colonies and concert measures of joint resistance. They had no legal authority to bind any colony or any person by their action, or to punish any disregard of their suggestions. They were merely, in the words of one writer, the "mouthpiece" of the colonies. Yet, from the first, the congress assumed that it did, though in an imperfect way, represent the colonies, and that something like authority would attach to its decisions. It formulated official statements of the case for the colonies. It assumed that the colonies proposed to stand together, and that no colony would act independently. It was appealed to by Massachusetts for advice, and it gave the advice asked for. It communicated directly with General Gage. It promulgated a plan of commercial non-intercourse, directed the manner of its enforcement, and branded as public enemies those who should disobey it. It recommended a second congress. These were acts of a sovereign government, elementary and tentative but sovereign. At least, formal suggestion was put forth with the expectation that it would be accorded the course of law. 1774

The New Issue

The issue had been broadened from that of no taxation without representation to that of no legislation without representation. At Philadelphia, John Adams read to Patrick Henry the statement of Joseph Hawley, that recent ministerial action had made it necessary to fight, and the Virginian answered: "I am of that man's opinion;" there were many others who felt as did Hawley and Henry. But we must not read back the decisions of a later time. There was as yet no pronounced desire for independence. Save for radical patriots here and there, the men in public life knew too well the cost of revolution, the burdens of independence, and the willingness of Great Britain to fight, to enter lightly upon a struggle fraught with such dreadful consequences. Men still believed that the king, if rightly informed, would hear their prayer and grant their requests. The American revolution was still in the stage of protest.

CHAPTER XIV

THE WAR BEGUN

The Dragon's Teeth

IN July, 1774, a month after Hutchinson bade adieu to blockaded Boston, Admiral Graves sailed into the harbor, followed soon by transports with additional regiments of soldiers. Thirty war-ships rode at anchor below the town, and red-coated regulars occupied the castle, and guarded the royal power at Salem.

Alas for the Mother's ways!
She sowed the dragon's teeth
And quick upsprung the spears,
The iron spears of death,
With iron hearts beneath,
And the war-storm's angry breath.

Provisions from other colonies poured into Boston. In August, Israel Putnam rode over Boston Neck with a gift of one hundred and thirty sheep from his townsmen in Connecticut. Everywhere the efforts of king and ministers to enforce obedience to their measures had intensified colonial indignation and cemented colonial union. Nor were men confining themselves to thoughts of peaceable resistance. From the Old Dominion came word that George Washington was ready to raise a thousand men and march to the relief of Boston. Twenty years before, Gage had seen the young Virginian "saving all that was saved on Braddock's bloody day."

Gage Moves Back to Boston

Post hoc or *propter hoc*, Gage shortly removed his headquarters from Salem to Boston, taking two regiments with him. We have already seen him, in September, sending troops to transfer the cannons and ammunition

1774

from the powder-house at Quarry Hill, Somerville, to the castle, building defenses across Boston Neck, and preparing barracks. He found it increasingly difficult, however, to hire laborers or to buy provisions. "Somehow his freight barges sunk, his carts of straw got on fire, his wagons were sloughed." In emulation of his removal of the field-pieces from the powder-house, a few young "patriots" stealthily carried off by night some cannons from Boston and others from an old battery in Charlestown. Everywhere there was a secret and concerted opposition the pervasiveness and watchfulness of which he felt, but the activity of which he could neither circumvent nor control. He soon found that his troops on the "Neck" needed protection, and a sloop of war took up a position in South Bay where it could enfilade the road from Roxbury "if occasion came."

Thus graciously the war I wage,
As witnesseth my hand ——
Tom Gage.

A Provincial Congress

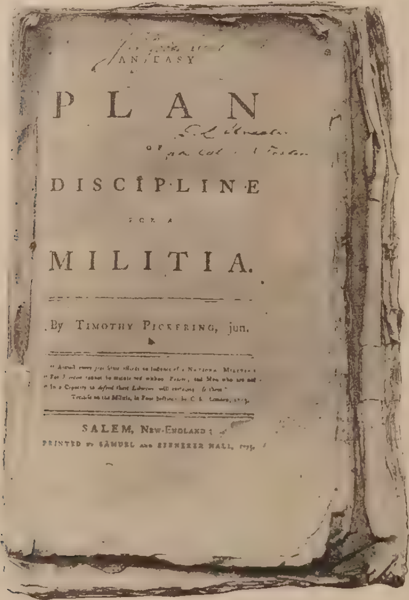
The general court had been summoned to meet at Salem on the fifth of October, but a week before that date it was dissolved by proclamation. The members assembled, however, and organized as a provincial congress, thus substituting a revolutionary government for that provided by the charter. John Hancock was chosen president and Benjamin Lincoln clerk. For safety, the congress removed to Concord. A committee on the state of the province was appointed and an open letter addressed to the governor. Tax collectors and other holders of public money were advised to retain the funds in their hands until such time as a legally constituted government should be

View of Washington Street, Salem, 1765–70
(Shows in the distance old schoolhouse and whipping-post)

1774 established. Gage warned the congress to "desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings;" but the sessions were continued with closed doors. A provincial treasurer was presently appointed, delegates to the second continental congress were chosen, a committee was created to report on population and manufactures, and an address to the people of Massachusetts was issued. On the tenth of December, the congress dissolved.

A Committee of Safety

The chief executive agency of the provincial congress was a committee of safety consisting of nine members, three from Boston and six from the country districts, and clothed with powers similar to those of the royal governor. Among the members were Warren, Orme, Lee, Gray, and Heath. The committee was created on the twenty-seventh of October and its first meeting was held on the seventh of November. In case any attempt was made to carry out by force the provisions of the Boston port act, the committee was to alarm, muster, and assemble the minutemen



AN EASY
PLAN
OF
DISCIPLINE
FOR A
MILITIA.

By TIMOTHY PICKERING, jun.

SALEM, New-England:
PRINTED by SAMUEL and EBENEZER HALL, 1775.

Title-page of Pickering's *An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia*, Salem, 1775

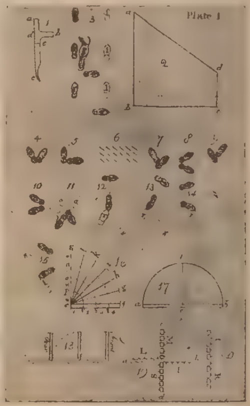
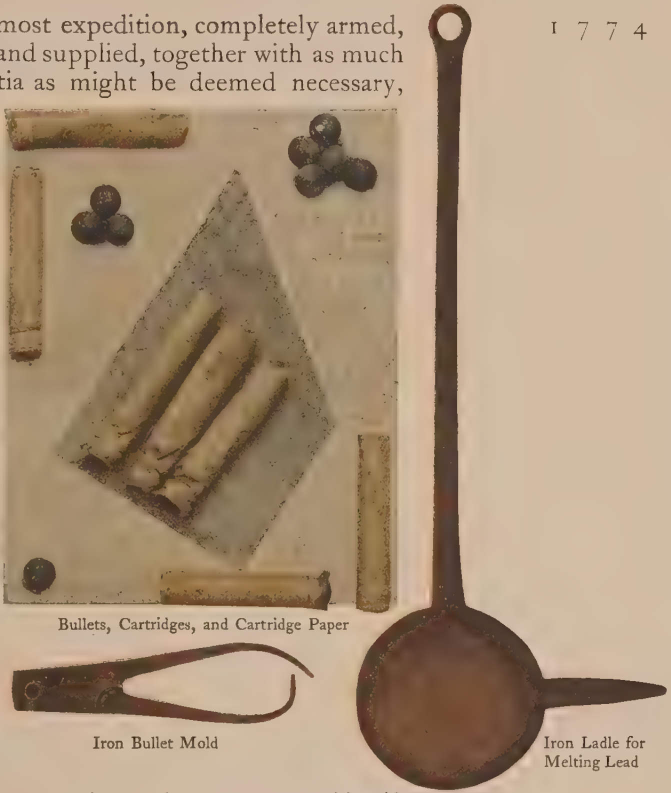


Diagram from Pickering's Work on Tactics

1774

with the utmost expedition, completely armed, accoutred, and supplied, together with as much of the militia as might be deemed necessary, and at such places as should be judged proper. Under its direction, the minutemen were formed into companies and the towns were advised to see that each of them "not already provided therewith should be immediately equipped with an effective firearm, bayonet, pouch, knapsack, and thirty rounds of cartridge and balls, and be disciplined three times a week, and oftener as opportunity may offer. In case of deficiency, selectmen were to provide the necessary equipment. This committee was replaced a few months later by one of eleven members, most of whom were members of the earlier organization.



Bullets, Cartridges, and Cartridge Paper

Iron Bullet Mold

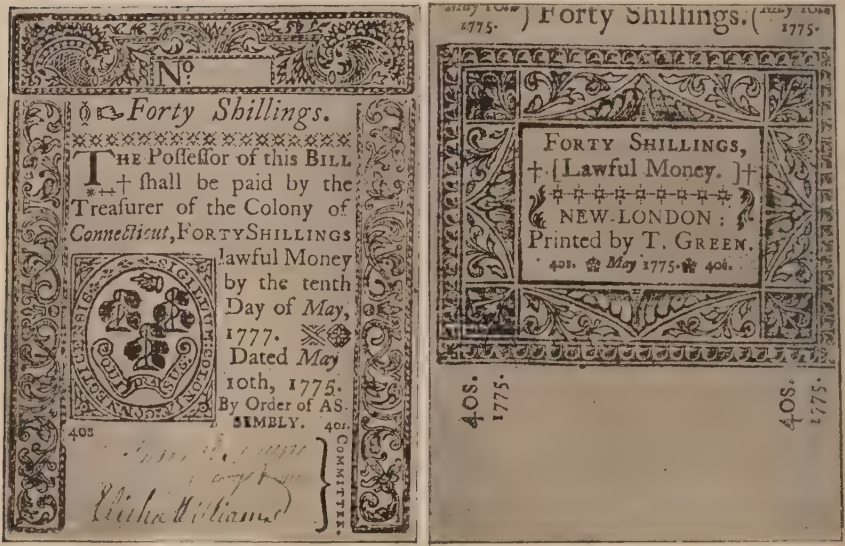
Iron Ladle for Melting Lead

Revolutionary Relics, reproduced from originals kindly loaned by John E. L. Hazen, Shirley, Mass.

Soldiers, Powder, and Paper Money

The call to military preparation met prompt and hearty response. In Danvers, the parish deacon was elected captain of the minutemen; the minister served as his

1774 lieutenant, and, on Sunday, exhorted the zealous sons of liberty to fight bravely for God and country and, on Monday, trained with them for the coming carnal conflict. When the British troops went into winter quarters, John Adams rejoiced that Massachusetts could put twenty-five thousand men in the field within a week, and that New England had two hundred thousand men "not exact soldiers but all used to arms." Connecticut, in addition to organizing her militia and collecting ammunition, voted an issue of fifteen thousand pounds in paper money—the first of the revolutionary period. When news came from England that no further shipments of military stores to America, save for the king's troops, were to be allowed, the colonists seized the existing supply and prepared to make what they needed. Ames's *Almanack* for 1775 described a method of making gunpowder, by which every person "may easily supply himself with a sufficiency



No

Forty Shillings.

THE Poſſeſſor of this BILL ſhall be paid by the Treaſurer of the Colony of *Connecticut*, FORTY SHILLINGS lawful Money by the tenth Day of *May*, 1777. Dated *May* 10th, 1775. By Order of ASSEMBLY.

40s 40s.

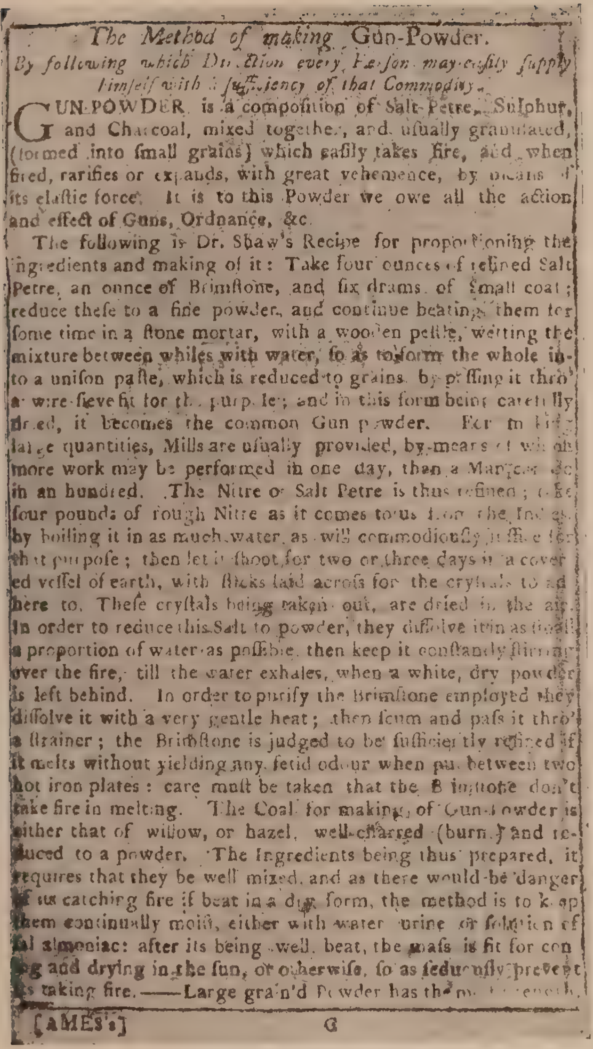
COMMITTEE.

1775. Forty Shillings. 1775.

FORTY SHILLINGS,
{Lawful Money.}
NEW-LONDON:
Printed by T. GREEN.
40s. May 1775. 40s.

40s. 1775. 40s. 1775.

Currency of the Revolution, first issued by Connecticut in 1775



The Method of making Gun-Powder.

By following which Direction every Perſon may eaſily ſupply himſelf with a ſufficiency of that Commodity.

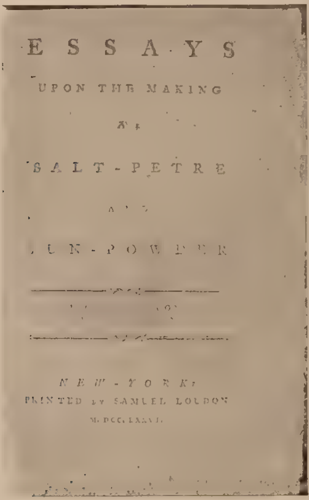
GUN-POWDER is a compoſition of Salt-Petre, Sulphur, and Charcoal, mixed together, and uſually granulated, (formed into ſmall grains) which eaſily takes fire, and when fired, rarifies or expands, with great vehemence, by means of its elaſtic force. It is to this Powder we owe all the action and effect of Guns, Ordnance, &c.

The following is Dr. Shaw's Recipe for proportioning the ingredients and making of it: Take four ounces of refined Salt Petre, an ounce of Brimſtone, and ſix drams of ſmall coal; reduce theſe to a fine powder, and continue beating them for ſome time in a ſtone mortar, with a wooden peſtle, wetting the mixture between whiles with water, ſo as to form the whole into a uniſon paſte, which is reduced to grains by paſſing it thro' a wire-ſieve fit for the purpoſe; and in this form being carefully dried, it becomes the common Gun-powder. For making large quantities, Mills are uſually provided, by means of which more work may be performed in one day, than a Man can do in an hundred. The Nitre or Salt Petre is thus refined; take four pounds of rough Nitre as it comes to us from the Indies, by boiling it in as much water as will commodiouſly ſuffice for that purpoſe; then let it ſhoot for two or three days in a covered veſſel of earth, with ſticks laid acroſs for the cryſtals to adhere to. Theſe cryſtals being taken out, are dried in the air. In order to reduce this Salt to powder, they diſſolve it in as ſmall a proportion of water as poſſible, then keep it conſtantly ſtirring over the fire, till the water exhales, when a white, dry powder is left behind. In order to purify the Brimſtone employed they diſſolve it with a very gentle heat; then ſcum and paſs it thro' a ſtrainer; the Brimſtone is judged to be ſufficiently refined if it melts without yielding any fetid odour when put between two hot iron plates: care muſt be taken that the Brimſtone don't take fire in melting. The Coal for making of Gun-powder is either that of willow, or hazel, well-charred (burnt) and reduced to a powder. The Ingredients being thus prepared, it requires that they be well mixed, and as there would be danger of its catching fire if beat in a dry form, the method is to keep them continually moiſt, either with water, urine, or ſolution of ſal armoniac: after its being well beat, the maſs is fit for corning and drying in the ſun, or otherwiſe, ſo as ſeduouſly to prevent its taking fire.——Large grain'd Powder has the moſt ſtrength,

[AMES's] G

Method of Making Gunpowder
(From Ames's *Almanack* for 1775)

1774 of the commodity," and so made the process known to every family in New England. Mills for making powder and arms were set up in several provinces and orders were given for casting heavy cannons. Massachusetts, in particular, was like a powder magazine that might explode at any moment.



ESSAYS
UPON THE MAKING
[illegible]
SALT-PETRE
[illegible]
GUN-POWDER

NEW-YORK:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL LOUDON
M.DCC.LXXVI.

Title-page of a Treatise on the Manufacture of Gunpowder

Taking Sides

In December, the "Sons of Liberty" at Portsmouth carried off the powder and cannons from the fort, the movement being led by John Sullivan, a leading lawyer who had represented New Hampshire in the continental congress, and John Langdon, a merchant of the town. Forty-four cannons at Newport were seized and carried to Providence. "When called upon by the British naval commander for an explanation, Governor Wanton bluntly avowed that these cannon had been taken away to prevent their falling into his hands, and were intended for use against any power that might offer to molest the colony." Resolutions directing the purchase of powder and the arming and training of the people were passed by the assembly. At Salem and Marblehead, the unemployed fishermen organized military companies and drilled three times a week. On the other hand, the loyalists were not idle. Under the lead of Timothy Ruggles, an association was formed to counteract the influence of the congress at Philadelphia; but the popular resentment was so great that, in January, 1775, Governor Gage found it necessary to send Captain Balfour and a hundred men to Marshfield to protect Ruggles and his associates. The troops encountered no resistance.

1774

The Colonies Approve the Work of the Continental Congress

Meantime, the delegates to the continental congress had reported to the people of the several colonies the proceedings of their meeting at Philadelphia. Those from Massachusetts made their report in November to the provincial congress, which voted approval and chose the same delegates for the ensuing year. A convention in Maryland took similar action and authorized military preparations. In Pennsylvania, approval came from the assembly, while South Carolina expressed its concurrence through a provincial convention of which Charles Pinckney was president. The New Jersey assembly approved, as did the New Hampshire convention. The enforcement of the "Association," however, occasioned difficulty in many quarters. Local committees, often self-constituted, exercised rigorously their inquisitorial powers, visiting houses and stores in search of British goods, posting the names of real or alleged offenders in public places, and freely using threats and intimidation to secure conformity. In South Carolina, the exemption of rice was denounced as "a piece of unjustifiable partiality," but an effort to instruct the delegates to the next congress to secure a removal of the exemption failed. The Pennsylvania Quakers opposed the enforcement of the agreement on the grounds that it was a step towards independence, but a convention, of which Joseph Reed was president and Thomas Mifflin, a Quaker, one of the leading members, presently resolved in favor of forcible resistance in case the late acts of parliament were enforced.

In Virginia

Governor Dunmore of Virginia reported that in that province the "Association" was being enforced "with the greatest rigor." "A Committee has been chosen in every County, whose business it is to carry the Association of the Congress into execution, which Committee assumes an authority to inspect the books, invoices and all other secrets of the trade and correspondence of Merchants; to watch the conduct of every inhabitant, without distinction, and to send for all such as come under their suspicion into their presence; to interrogate them respecting all matters which, at their pleasure, they think fit

1775 objects of their inquiry; and to stigmatize, as they term it, such as they find transgressing what they are now hardy enough to call the Laws of the Congress, which stigmatizing is no other than inviting the vengeance of an outrageous and lawless mob to be exercised upon the unhappy victims." Every county, moreover, was arming a company of men. As for the royal authority, it was practically in abeyance. "There is not a justice of the Peace in *Virginia* that acts, except as a Committee-man;" nor will the lawyers attend court.

The Massachusetts Congress

The Massachusetts provincial congress reconvened at Cambridge on the first of February, 1775. Its doings are said to have been regularly reported to Governor Gage by Doctor Benjamin Church who had been prominent in the Boston "tea-party" and who still had the confidence of the patriot leaders. Church soon became a surgeon in charge of the hospital service of the continental army, but later fell into disgrace through questionable conduct. We shall hear of him again. The congress pressed on the work of military preparation, but urged the people to avoid everything that could provoke hostilities.

Secrecy and Vigilance

Neither side cared to take the responsibility for the first blow, although it was plain to both parties that blows must soon come. On the eighteenth of February, Peter Oliver wrote to London: "Great preparations on both sides for an engagement." On the twentieth, Warren wrote: "Every day, every hour widens the breach!" The utmost secrecy was joined to the greatest vigilance. "Cannon were conveyed from the town to the country in carts, under the appearance of loads of manure; half barrels of gunpowder were put into butcher's pads, or the hampers of marketmen, as they returned home in the evening; and cartridges were packed in candle boxes, and sent off. Sometimes prizes were made; and in one instance over thirteen thousand cartridges and three thousand pounds of balls were seized. But this mishap, so far from disheartening, only stimulated to increased vigilance."

The Penalties of Loyalty

March 9

While the patriots were careful to avoid collision with the soldiers, they were not so careful of the persons and property of loyalists. A writer in *Rivington's Gazette* signing himself "Plain English," gives numerous instances of the way in which the partisans of the king had of late been coerced or silenced. For instance, Daniel Leonard of Taunton, a "mandamus councilor," was driven from home and compelled to take refuge in Boston. The house of Attorney-general Sewall at Cambridge had its windows broken and the Plymouth men who had signed a memorial to Hutchinson were compelled to recant. At Halifax, in Plymouth County, Jesse Dunbar had bought some cattle of one of the obnoxious councilors; he was seized, fastened inside the carcass of one of the oxen, carted four miles, and was then turned over to the Kingston mob, which carried him four miles further, and then threw dirt at him and left him.

The Freedom of the Press

Colonial newspapers teemed with discussions of colonial rights, while broadsides and posters spread the spirit of resistance. Occasionally the loyalists essayed the use of printer's ink, though they frequently got into trouble by so doing. A typical case occurred in Kent County, Delaware, where an article containing sentiments hostile to the patriot cause appeared in *Humphrey's Ledger*. The committee of correspondence summoned the offending author to meet them at Dover "and render such satisfaction to the committee, as will enable them to clear the good people of this country from the aspertions of that letter, and justify them in the eyes of the public." At the appointed time, the luckless "R. H." appeared, and "with sorrow and contrition for my weakness and folly," avowed that the political opinions expressed "were founded on the grossest error," begged the forgiveness of his countrymen, and solemnly promised "that I will never again oppose those laudable measures, necessarily adopted by my countrymen, for the preservation of American freedom."

The Salem Affair

On the twenty-sixth of February, Gage, perhaps encouraged by the submission of the people at Marsh-

1775 field, sent Colonel Leslie with a detachment to seize some cannons at Salem. It was Sunday, and the people were at church when the troops landed at Marblehead and took up their march. But the news traveled faster than the soldiers, and, when Leslie reached the North Bridge, he found the draw open and his further passage disputed. He ordered the draw to be lowered, but was told that it was a private way and that he had no right to pass over it. Then he tried to get possession of some boats near by, but they were pushed off. There were a scuffle and a few bayonet thrusts, when the Reverend Mr. Barnard of Salem intervened and an agreement was made by which the bridge was lowered. Leslie and his men marched over, and then

Site of Old North Bridge, Salem

Without loss of time or men,
Veered round for Boston back again,
And found so well their projects thrive,
That every soul got home alive.

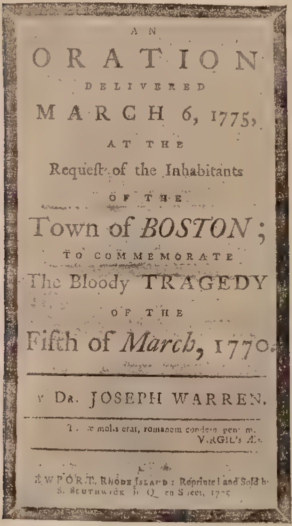
The Anniversary Oration

As the fifth anniversary of the "Boston massacre" fell on Sunday, it was arranged that the usual oration should be delivered on the sixth. British officers were reported to have declared that any one who should speak in the Old South meeting-house on that day should pay for it with his life, and a Boston Tory wrote to Hutchinson in London that "bloodshed and desolation seemed inevitable." Warren promptly begged for the dangerous honor and spoke stirringly upon "the baleful influence of standing armies in time of peace." So great was the crowd that, rather than risk a disturbance by elbowing his way through the aisles, the speaker climbed a ladder and entered the building by a window at the back of the pulpit. Forty British officers were in the front seats, while others occupied the pulpit stairs.

1775
Warren's Patriotic Prudence

The oration was at once vehement and prudent, suggesting much, yet avoiding anything that could be called treason. For example, this: "Even the sending of troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles the Invincible taught Peter the Great the art of war. The battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made." And this: "If it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored Goddess Liberty fast by a Brunswick's side on the American throne." While Warren was speaking, an officer on the pulpit stairs held up some bullets in his open palm. The speaker quietly dropped his handker-

Jos Warren



AN
ORATION
DELIVERED
MARCH 6, 1775,
AT THE
Requeſt of the Inhabitants
OF THE
Town of *BOSTON*;
TO COMMEMORATE
The Bloody TRAGEDY
OF THE
Fifth of *March*, 1770.

By Dr. JOSEPH WARREN.

Tantæ molis erat, romanam condere gentem.
VIRGIL's Æn.

NEWPORT, Rhode Island: Reprinted and Sold by
S. Southwick in Queen Street, 1775

Title-page of Warren's Memorial Oration of March 6, 1775

chief on the "leaden menace" and warmed up to his work. There were hissings and poundings of canes when the vote of thanks was given, and, as the people passed from the church, they noticed, not without apprehension, that the forty-third regiment was marching by, drums beating.

1775
Tar and Feathers
March 8

A few days later, a man from Billerica, while trading with the soldiers, was arrested, tarred and feathered, and paraded through the streets as "American Liberty or a Specimen of Democracy." The pretense for the arrest was that the man was urging a soldier to desert. This outrage brought to Gage a significant remonstrance that ended with these words: "May it please your Excellency, we must tell you we are determined, if the innocent inhabitants of our Country Towns (for we must think this man innocent in this affair) must be interrupted by Soldiers in their lawful intercourse with . . . the town of Boston, and treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

Earl Percy's Jaunt

The provincial congress had adjourned at Cambridge on the sixteenth of February; it met again at Concord on the twenty-second of March. Gage had spies prowling about the country,

Hugh, Earl Percy

1775

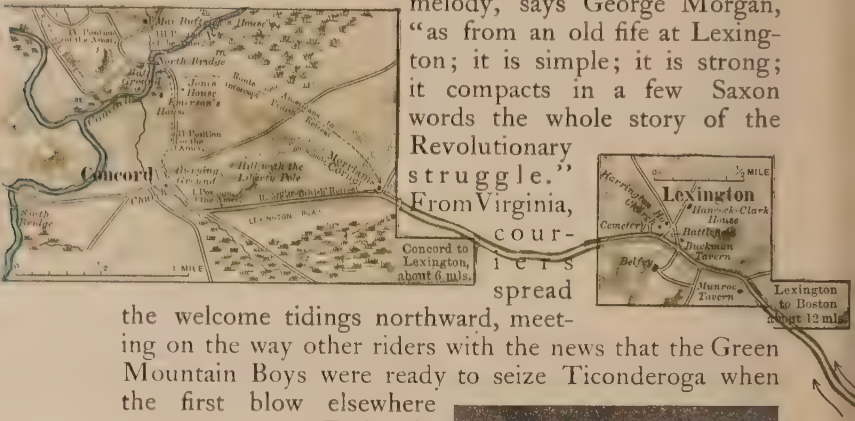
studying its topography and observing the patriot preparations. On the thirtieth, Earl Percy was sent with five regiments on a ten-mile march to Jamaica Plain and Dorchester and return — to work the winter cramps out of the troops. The excursion was without particular incident, but the committee of safety and the minutemen were alert; Warren wrote: "Had they attempted to destroy any magazines or to abuse the people, not a man of them would have returned to Boston." On the fifteenth of April the provincial congress adjourned. Samuel Adams and Hancock, already marked for arrest, went to Lexington where Gage could not reach them, and many others moved out of Boston.

Crystallization

In Virginia, Patrick Henry was declaring: "We must fight; an appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left to us." This, the greatest of Henry's orations, was delivered in Saint John's church at Richmond on the twenty-third of March, 1775. Passages therefrom have served school-boys for a hundred years as favorite declamations, and for gray-haired men some of them still sing in memory, such as the beautiful interro-

Interior of Saint John's Church

1775 gation: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?"—a bit of melody, says George Morgan, "as from an old fife at Lexington; it is simple; it is strong; it compacts in a few Saxon words the whole story of the Revolutionary struggle." From Virginia, couriers spread the welcome tidings northward, meeting on the way other riders with the news that the Green Mountain Boys were ready to seize Ticonderoga when the first blow elsewhere gave excuse. Early in April, ships from England brought to Marblehead word that more troops were coming, and with them Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and other experienced officers. A few days later, a committee of the Massachusetts provincial congress made a report on a proposed armed alliance of the New England colonies, and a New England army began to take form. The frigate "Somerset" and the armed transports took up new positions, the better to coöperate with the forces in Boston.



Paul Revere

Revere's Agreement

On Sunday, the sixteenth of April, Gage had the boats

1775

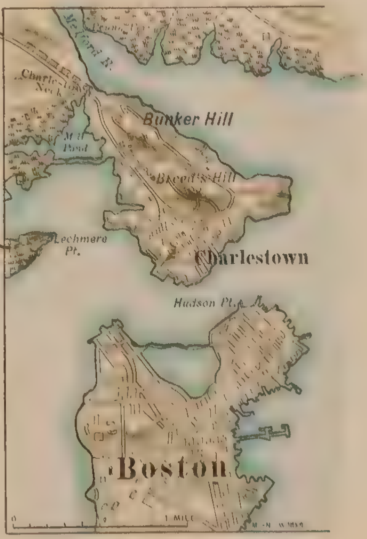
of the transports launched. Warren sent Paul Revere, a coppersmith and engraver whose services as courier between Boston and Philadelphia have already been noted, to report the fact to Adams and Hancock at Lexington. At Charlestown, on his return, Revere agreed with Colonel Conant and other gentlemen that "if the British went out by water, we should show two lanthorns in the North Church steeple,—and if by land, one, as a signal."

The Stores at Concord

April 18

The Massachusetts towns had their several magazines. The stores and arms collected by the provincial congress were at Concord and Worcester. On Tuesday, the British began preparations for the removal of the stores at Concord, and Gage sent officers to patrol the Concord road and to intercept any messengers who might attempt to carry word of what was taking place. The patriot leaders, however, had been warned by a "daughter of liberty unequally yoked in point of politics" (perhaps General Gage's wife who was of New Jersey birth), and were ready for action.

In the evening, British soldiers marched across Boston Common toward the inner bay. William Dawes at once set out for Concord by way of Boston Neck and Roxbury, while Paul Revere crossed the river to Charlestown. With the appearance of the signal lights in the North Church belfry, Revere began the midnight ride that Longfellow's poetic genius, unfettered by strict regard for historical accuracy, has made a household tale. By eleven o'clock, Lieutenant-colonel Smith, with eight hundred men, was crossing the "back bay" to Lechmere Point, now East Cambridge. The moon was well up when, at half-past two on Wednesday morning, the troops set out on



Route from Concord to Lexington and Boston

1775

Revere and Dawes

April 19

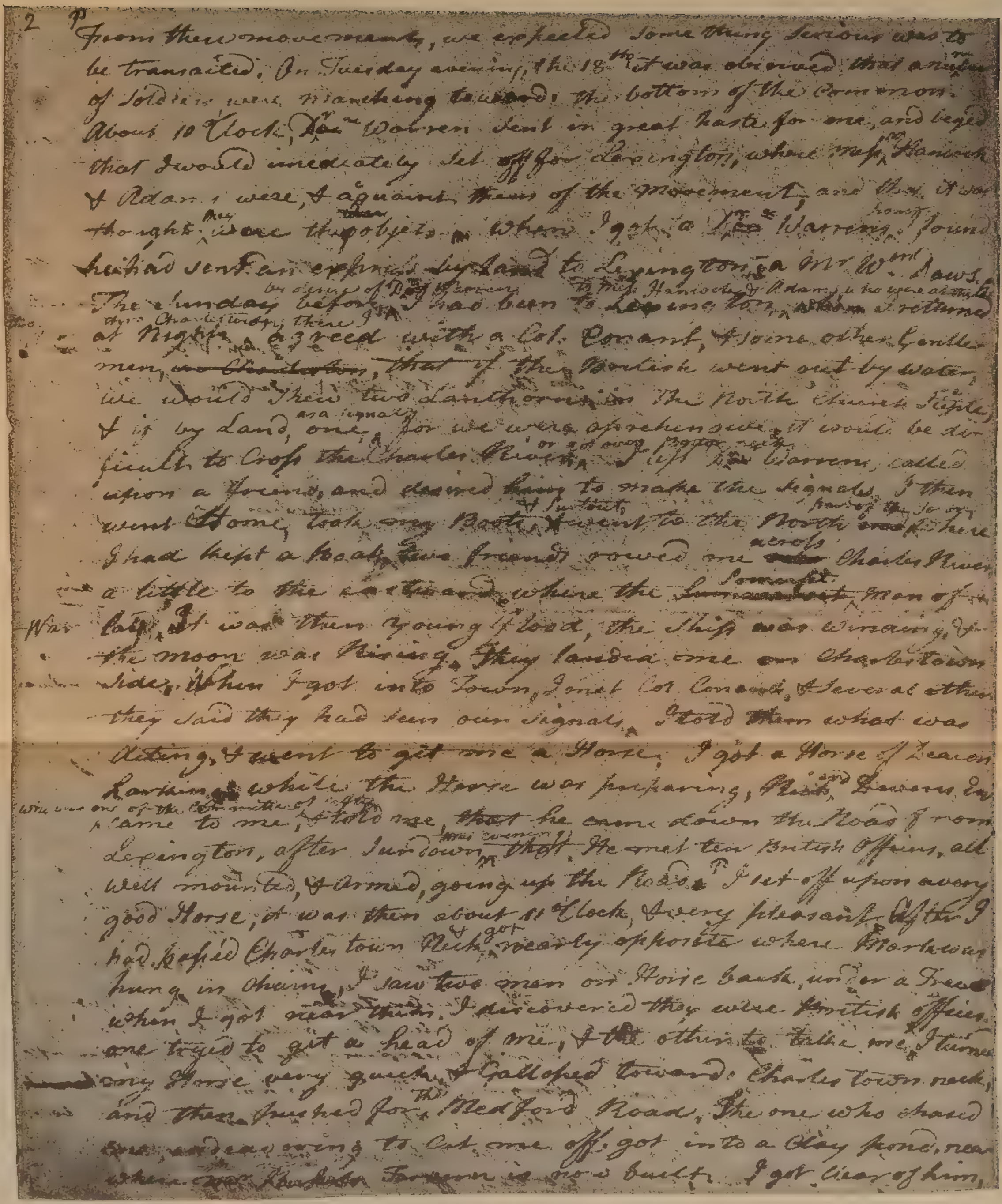
William Dawes

their well-watched way toward Concord. Meantime, Revere had roused the minutemen at Medford, and, about midnight, delivered his message of warning to Adams and Hancock at Lexington where he was joined by Dawes, and by Doctor Prescott, "a high Son of Liberty" who had lingered late with his sweetheart. The three had not gone far when Revere was captured by British scouts and carried back as a prisoner to Lexington. Prescott and Dawes escaped and reached Concord with the news.

At Lexington

Lieutenant-colonel Smith found that the country was thoroughly aroused and sent back to Boston a request for reinforcements, and sent ahead a strong guard under Major Pitcairn to seize the bridge across the river at

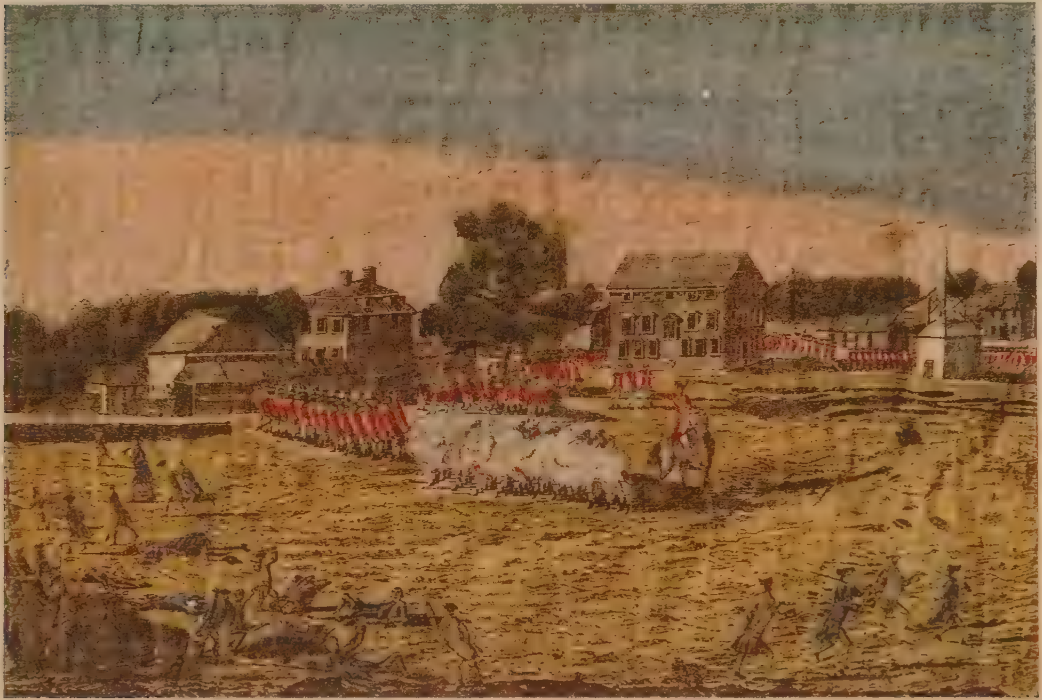
Hancock-Clark House, Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were staying on the night of April 19



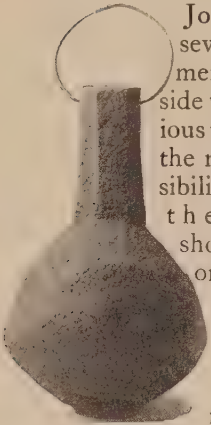
2 P From these movements, we expected Some thing Serious was to
be transacted. On Tuesday evening, the 18th, it was observed, that a number
of Soldiers were Marching towards the bottom of the Common.
About 10 o'Clock, Dr. Warren Sent in great haste for me, and beged
that I would imediately Set off for Lexington, where Messrs. Hancock
& Adams were, & aquaint them of the Movement, and that it was
thought they were the objets. When I got to Dr. Warren's house, I found
he had sent an express by land to Lexington, a Mr. Wm. Daws.
The Sunday before, by desire of Dr. Warren, I had been to Lexington, to Messrs. Hancock & Adams, who were at the Revd. Mr. Clark's. I returned
at Night thro Charlestown; there I agreed with a Col. Conant, & some other Gentle-
men, that if the British went out by water,
we would shew two Lanthorns in the North Church Steeple;
& if by Land, one, as a Signal, for we were aprehensive it would be dif-
ficult to Cross the Charles River, or git over Boston neck. I left Dr. Warren, called
upon a friend, and desired him to make the Signals. I then
went Home, took my Boots & Surtout, went to the North part of the Town, where
I had kept a Boat; two friends rowed me across Charles River,
a little to the eastward where the Somerset Man of
War lay. It was then young flood, the Ship was winding, &
the moon was Rising. They landed me on Charlestown
side. When I got into Town, I met Col. Conant, & several others;
they said they had seen our signals. I told them what was
Acting, & went to git me a Horse; I got a Horse of Deacon
Larkin. While the Horse was preparing, Richard Devens Esq.
who was one of the Committee of Safty, came to me, & told me, that he came down the Road from
Lexington, after Sundown, that evening; that He met ten British Officers, all
well mounted, & armed, going up the Road. I set off upon a very
good Horse; it was then about 11 o'Clock, & very pleasant. After I
had passed Charlestown Neck, & got nearly opposite where Mark was
hung in chains, I saw two men on Horse back, under a Tree.
When I got near them, I discovered they were British officers.
One tryed to git a head of me, & the other to take me. I turned
my Horse very quick, & Galloped towards Charlestown neck,
and then pushed for the Medford Road. The one who chased
me, endeavoring to Cut me off, got into a Clay pond, near
where Mr. Russells Tan yard is now built. I got clear of him,

Page from Paul Revere's Diary, Recording Midnight Ride of Major William Dawes and Himself

From original in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society



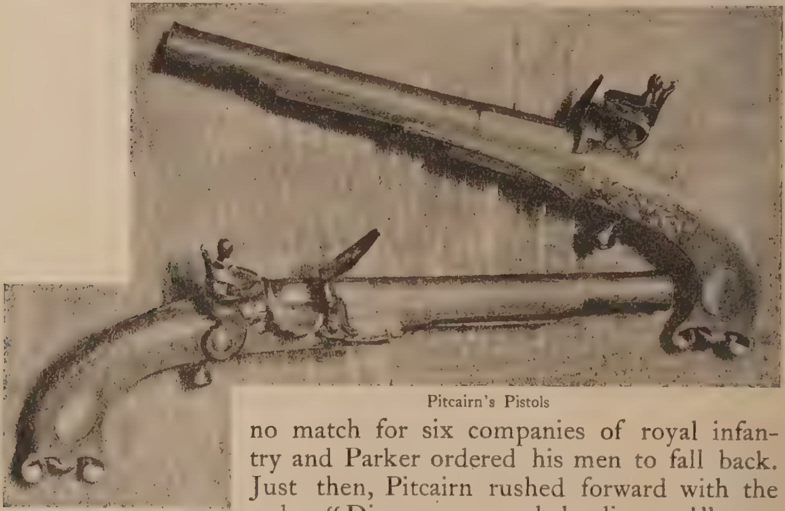
THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, APRIL 19, 1775.—PLATE I, ENGRAVED BY AMOS DOOLITTLE
(Reduced reproduction from original colored engraving in the collection of the
Bangor (Maine) Historical Society, kindly loaned for this purpose)



Clapper of the Bell that summoned the citizens of Lexington on April 19

Monument to Captain Parker and his men at Lexington

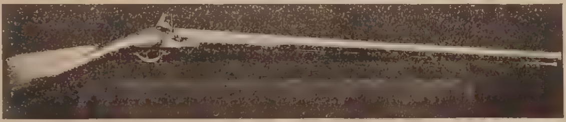
1775 Concord. At daybreak, Pitcairn halted his men on the village green in front of the meeting-house at Lexington. Here were Captain John Parker and seventy minutemen. Each side was anxious to avoid the responsibility for the first shot; Gage's orders on the subject had been positive and the expressed wish of the continental congress, reinforced by the warning of the provincial congress, had been impressed upon all the Massachusetts towns. The few minutemen were no match for six companies of royal infantry and Parker ordered his men to fall back. Just then, Pitcairn rushed forward with the order, "Disperse, you rebels, disperse!"



Pitcairn's Pistols

The War Begun

Who fired the first shot has been much discussed. The probabilities have been thus stated: "One of Parker's men, without order, drew trigger and his gun missed fire. The powder flashed in the pan. Some English soldiers, without order, also, considered this to be, as it certainly was, a sufficient signal that war had begun, and fired some irregular shots in return. These shots hurt no one; but a general discharge from the English line followed, in which many of the Lexington party were killed and wounded. They then returned the fire and the war was begun." The minutemen broke their ranks, the redcoats fired another volley in triumph, and with cheers hastened forward to Concord, eight miles beyond. The provincials cared for their dead and wounded and picked up a few stragglers from the British column. Of their seventy, seven were killed and ten wounded—one-fourth disabled by a single volley. Of the British, one was killed and one or two were wounded.


Musket carried by Robert Peele of Salem at the Battle of Lexington

Buckman Tavern near the Lexington Common
(Pierced by bullets April 19, 1775)

Sewall House, Burlington, Mass.
(Hither Adams and Hancock retreated during the battle of Lexington)

Gage Sends Earl Percy

Anticipating Lieutenant-colonel Smith's call for reinforcements, Gage had ordered out Earl Percy and the first brigade at four o'clock in the morning. At five o'clock, Smith's message arrived, but Percy did not set out

1775 until between nine and ten, and then took the longer route by way of Roxbury and Cambridge. As the brigade passed through Roxbury, the bands played "Yankee Doodle:" a youngster shouted, "You march out to Yankee Doodle; you'll come back to Chevy Chase." Under the direction of Heath, a member of the committee of safety and now one of the general officers of militia appointed by the provincial congress, the planks had been removed from the bridge over the Charles River between Brighton and Cambridge. Percy, late in setting out and thus delayed, pushed forward with his troops as rapidly as possible, leaving his baggage train to follow as soon as the bridge had been repaired. To the questions of the officers in charge of the train, deceptive answers were given by the people along the route, and at Menotomy (West Cambridge, now Arlington) the whole convoy was captured by some old men, "exempts," led by a negro who had seen service in the late French war. The fateful collision had already occurred at Lexington and Concord and Joseph Warren had left Boston forever with the words: "They have begun it; that, either party can do: and we'll end it; that, only one can do."

Sword carried by Major-general William Heath during the American Revolution

Drum beaten at the Battle of Lexington

At Concord

Thanks to the well-laid plans of the committees of safety and correspondence, the news of what was taking place spread rapidly. Before Percy left Boston, the minutemen for thirty miles around were under way. By

1775

early morning, Smith and Pitcairn were at Concord but the Concord company had already been joined by the minutemen from Lincoln, the town adjacent on the east. Seeing that he was outnumbered, Colonel Barrett withdrew his little force across the river. Smith sent out two detachments to destroy such stores as Barrett had not been able to conceal or remove. One of the detachments went to Barrett's house, crossing the river at the North Bridge and leaving there a guard. When Barrett saw the guard begin taking up the bridge, he sent a party under Major Buttrick to pass the bridge, but with orders not to fire unless compelled to do so. As the minutemen advanced, the guard retired, and, at short range, fired three volleys, killing a few. Then came from the Americans "the shot heard round the world." That night, the Con-

Battle-ground Monument at Concord

The Minuteman Monument at Concord

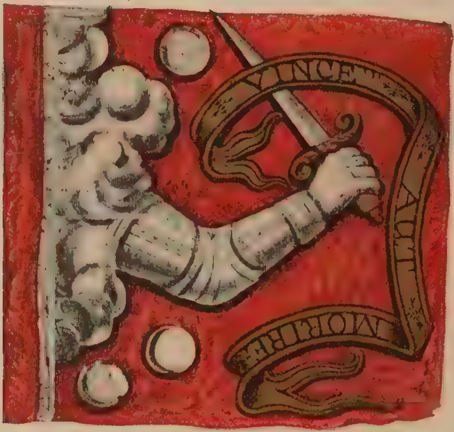
cord minister wrote in his diary that he "was very uneasy until the fire was returned."

The Rally of the Minutemen

Under ordinary circumstances, Smith would have rested his troops wearied by the long night march from Boston to Concord, but it was plain that such delay would be disastrous. The whole country was awake, and minutemen, like angry bees from overturned hives, were pouring in from every quarter. The court-house had been fired, a few cannons had been rendered useless, and some stores had been destroyed; there was nothing more to be gained and immediate retreat was imperative. Wagons were hastily collected for the wounded, a messenger was sent to hasten Percy, and the ever-memorable retreat was begun.

The British Retreat

The minutemen were thoroughly familiar with the country and used their knowledge to good purpose. From every wall and tree, from every thicket and hill—"spots which the genius of Hawthorne and Emerson have converted into shrines"—a deadly fire was kept up. The weary soldiers were forced to abandon some of their dead and dying and "huddled along the road like sheep beset by dogs." No sooner had they passed one dangerous point than the Massachusetts farmers took some short cut and, from another point of vantage, renewed the attack. "They seemed to drop from the skies," said one of the survivors. "We began to run rather than retreat in order," said another. The day was unusually warm, and when, about

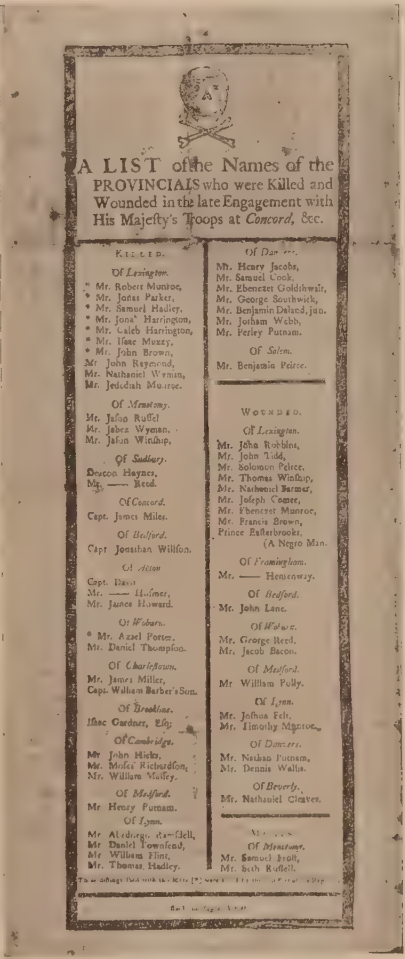


Flag of the Bedford Minutemen

two o'clock, the retreating column met Percy just east of Lexington, the men were likened to dogs with their tongues hanging out of their mouths. Percy held the minutemen in check with his field-pieces, and the eighteen hundred redcoats halted for rest and food.

Percy Safe at Charlestown

When the column resumed its retreat to Boston, the attack was renewed under the direction of General Heath who had arrived to take command of the provincials. Percy did not dare to try to cross the inner bay by the boats that Smith had left at Lechmere Point the night before, but turned northward along the road to Charlestown Neck. There was a sharp action at West Cambridge plain and Warren had a pin struck from his earlock by a musket-ball. If Colonel Timothy Pickering and the minutemen from Essex County had arrived a little sooner, they might have cut off at Winter Hill a retreat that was by this time so precipitate



A LIST of the Names of the
PROVINCIALS who were Killed and
Wounded in the late Engagement with
His Majeſty's Troops at *Concord*, &c.

KILLED.

Of *Lexington*.

- * Mr. Robert Munroe,
- * Mr. Jonas Parker,
- * Mr. Samuel Hadley,
- * Mr. Jona^n Harrington,
- * Mr. Caleb Harrington,
- * Mr. Iſaac Muzzy,
- * Mr. John Brown,
- Mr John Raymond,
- Mr. Nathaniel Wyman,
- Mr. Jedediah Munroe.

Of *Menotomy*.

- Mr. Jaſon Ruſſel
- Mr. Jabez Wyman,
- Mr. Jaſon Winſhip,

Of *Sudbury*.

- Deacon Haynes,
- Mr. —— Reed.

Of *Concord*.

- Capt. James Miles.

Of *Bedford*.

- Capt Jonathan Willſon.

Of *Acton*

- Capt. Davis
- Mr. —— Hoſmer,
- Mr. James Howard.

Of *Woburn*.

- * Mr. Azael Porter,
- Mr. Daniel Thompſon.

Of *Charleſtown*.

- Mr. James Miller,
- Capt. William Barber's Son.

Of *Brookline*.

- Iſaac Gardner, Eſq;

Of *Cambridge*.

- Mr John Hicks,
- Mr. Moſes Richardſon,
- Mr. William Maſſey.

Of *Medford*.

- Mr Henry Putnam.

Of *Lynn*.

- Mr Abednego Ramſdell,
- Mr Daniel Townſend,
- Mr William Flint,
- Mr. Thomas Hadley.

Of *Danvers*.

- Mr. Henry Jacobs,
- Mr. Samuel Cook,
- Mr. Ebenezer Goldthwait,
- Mr. George Southwick,
- Mr. Benjamin Daland, jun.
- Mr. Jotham Webb,
- Mr. Perley Putnam.

Of *Salem*.

- Mr. Benjamin Peirce.

WOUNDED.

Of *Lexington*.

- Mr. John Robbins,
- Mr. John Tidd,
- Mr. Solomon Peirce,
- Mr. Thomas Winſhip,
- Mr. Nathaniel Farmer,
- Mr. Joſeph Comee,
- Mr. Ebenezer Munroe,
- Mr. Francis Brown,
- Prince Eaſterbrooks, (A Negro Man.

Of *Framingham*.

- Mr. —— Hemenway.

Of *Bedford*.

- Mr. John Lane.

Of *Watertown*.

- Mr. George Reed,
- Mr. Jacob Bacon.

Of *Medford*.

- Mr William Polly.

Of *Lynn*.

- Mr. Joſhua Felt,
- Mr. Timothy Munroe.

Of *Danvers*.

- Mr. Nathan Putnam,
- Mr. Dennis Wallis.

Of *Beverly*.

- Mr. Nathaniel Cleaves.

[illegible]

Of *Menotomy*.

- Mr. Samuel Froſt,
- Mr. Seth Ruſſell.

List of the Killed and Wounded

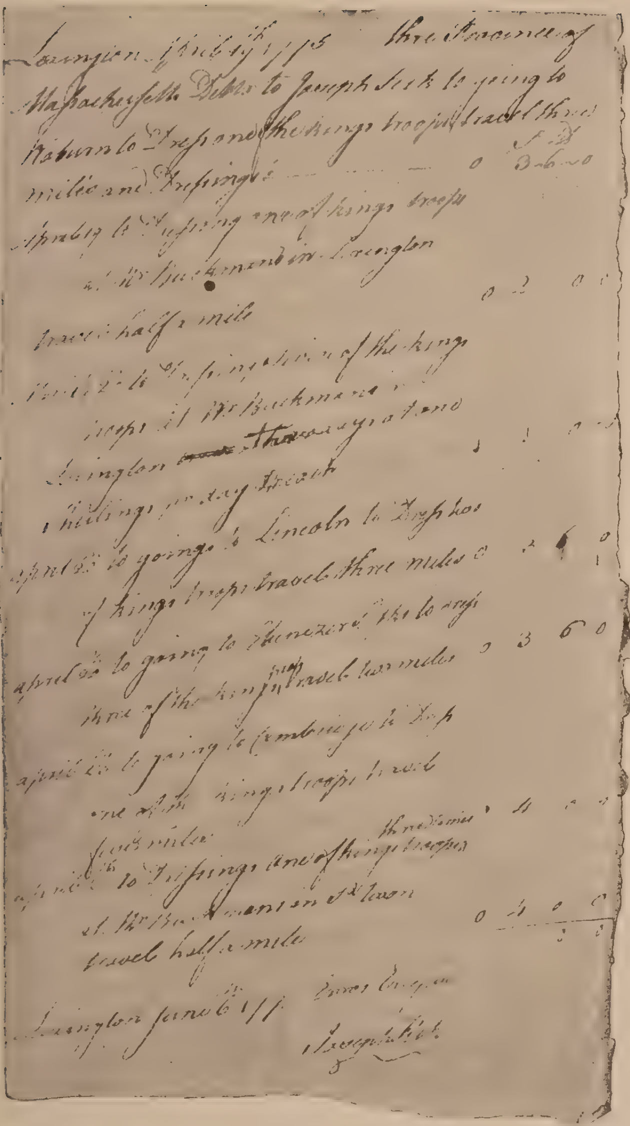
1775 that Washington afterwards said: "God knows, it could not have been more so." Percy managed to get his troops across the Neck and, under cover of the ships of war, made a stand. Heath withdrew the provincials to Cambridge where his men slept on their arms.

The Americans Begin the Siege of Boston

A council of war was held at Prospect Hill and express riders were hurried off in all directions spreading the news that the war-cloud had burst. From town to town, from province to province, sped the news of how the British had fired upon the people and how the people had chased the British back to Boston. No fiery cross ever stirred a nation to more eager enthusiasm. Naturally, the lists of losses for the day vary somewhat. According to one account, the British loss was sixty-five killed, one hundred and seventy-eight wounded, and twenty-six missing; the American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-six wounded, and five missing. Before morning, Percy withdrew his troops to their Boston barracks. They were needed there, for, with the Americans encamped at Cambridge, the siege of Boston had begun.

Yellow Journalism

It is interesting to put side by side two accounts of this famous episode, as illustrations of the difficulties that beset the historian when he tries to draw the truth from contemporary documents. The *Salem Gazette* of the twenty-fifth of April, after giving a circumstantial account of the fighting and the retreat, adds: "In *Lexington* the enemy set fire to Deacon *Joseph Loring's* house and barn, Mrs. *Mullikin's* house and shop, and Mr. *Joshua Bond's* house and shop, which were all consumed. They also set fire to several other houses, but our people extinguished the flames. They pillaged almost every house they passed by, breaking and destroying doors, windows, glasses, &c., and carrying off clothing and other valuable effects. It appeared to be their design to burn and destroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous pursuit prevented their infernal purposes from being put in execution. But the savage barbarity exercised upon the bodies of our unfortunate brethren who fell, is almost



Lexington June 6th 1775 The Province of
Massachusetts Debtor to Joseph Fisk to going to
Notomy to Dress and the kings troops travel three
miles and Dressings ——— 0 3-6-0

April 19 to Dressing one of kings troops
at Mr Buckmans in Lexington 0 2 0 0
travel half a mile

April 2[illegible] to Dressing two of the kings
troops at Mr Buckmans in
Lexington ~~[illegible]~~ there every day a fortnight 1 1 0 0
shillings per day [illegible]

April 2[illegible] to going to Lincoln to Dress two
of kings troops travel three miles 0 2 6 0

April 2[illegible] to going to Menotomy to Dress
three of the kings troops travel two miles 0 3 6 0

April 2[illegible] to going to Cambridge to Dress
one of the kings troops travel
four miles 0 4 0 0

April [illegible] to Dressings one of the kings troops three times
at Mr Buckmans in Lexington 0 4 0 0
travel half a mile

Lexington June 6 1775 Errors Excepted
Joseph Fisk

Doctor Joseph Fiske's Bill for Services to British Soldiers at Lexington

1774
1775

incredible: not contented with shooting down the unarmed, aged, and infirm, they disregarded the cries of the wounded, killing them without mercy, and mangling their bodies in the most shocking manner. We have the pleasure to say, that, notwithstanding the highest provocations given by the enemy, not one instance of cruelty, that we have heard of, was committed by our victorious Militia; but listening to the merciful dictates of the Christian religion, they 'breathed higher sentiments of humanity.'"

Saffron Journalism

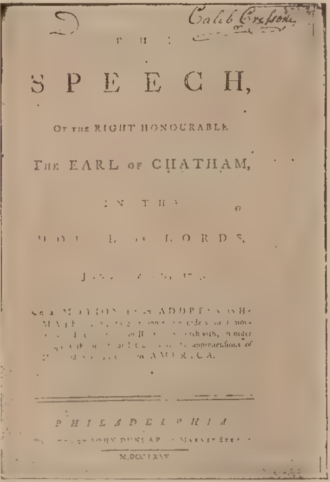
On the other hand, an account in the *London Gazette* of the tenth of June, based upon letters from Gage and others, gives a straightforward narrative of events, with no reference to the destruction of any property save military stores; but declares that "such was the cruelty and barbarity of the rebels, that they scalped and cut off the ears of some of the wounded men who fell into their hands."

A General Parliamentary Election

While, in America, colonial resistance was thus culminating in war, events of great significance had been taking place in England. After the passage of the coercive acts, English public opinion, somewhat weary of colonial disputes, had for a time shown little concern about American affairs. Many thought that the worst was over, that the Americans, after a period of bluster, would submit to the authority of the mother country. On the thirtieth of September, 1774, however, parliament was unexpectedly dissolved and the country plunged into the excitement of a general election. Wilkes, now the idol of the popular party, was triumphantly elected a member from Middlesex and lord mayor of London, while many former members of the commons failed of reëlection. But the ministerial majority was not reversed, Lord North continued at the head of the government, and no intimation of ministerial policy was forthcoming. Nothing was done until after the holiday recess; it was the calm before the storm.

Parliament is Resolute

When parliament reassembled, on the nineteenth of January, 1775, voluminous papers relating to colonial affairs, including the petition to the king adopted by the continental congress, were laid before the houses. The next day, Lord Chatham moved an address to the king "for recalling the troops from Boston;" after a long debate, the motion was rejected by a vote of eighteen to sixty-eight. Petitions from the merchants of London, Bristol, Glasgow, and other commercial centers, praying for a change of policy and the protection of their trade, were refused consideration. On the first of February, Lord Chatham offered the outlines of a bill "for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." The bill authorized the holding of a congress in May for the purpose of acknowledging the authority of the mother country and making a free grant to the crown; restrained the powers of the courts of admiralty; suspended the acts or parts of acts complained of by the continental congress; and recognized the charter rights of the colonies. The bill was summarily rejected and an address to the king, pledging him "support at all hazards in measures to put down rebellion," was agreed to by large majorities. Eighteen lords protested against "an address amounting to a *declaration of war*."



Caleb Cresson

SPEECH,

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF CHATHAM,

IN THE

HOUSE OF LORDS,

[illegible]

[illegible] ADDRESS [illegible] AMERICA.

PHILADELPHIA

[illegible] JOHN DUNLAP [illegible] MARKET STREET

M,DCC,LXXV

Title-page of Lord Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords

The New England Restraining Bill

On the tenth of February, in the commons, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies; and to exclude those colonies, under certain conditions and

1775 for a limited time, from the Newfoundland fisheries. A vote of two hundred and sixty-one to eighty-five, more than three to one, gave the desired permission, and, on the seventeenth, the bill was presented. The bill was to take effect on the first of July and to continue in force until such time as it should appear to the governor and council in the respective colonies "that peace and obedience to the laws shall be so far restored . . . that the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects may be carried on without interruption within the same." The bill passed the commons on the eighth of March, and the lords on the twenty-first. The lords added an amendment, including New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina within the scope of the act; but, as the commons had already under consideration a separate bill restraining the trade of the southern colonies, they rejected the amendment, and the bill became a law on the thirtieth of March. Sixteen lords protested.

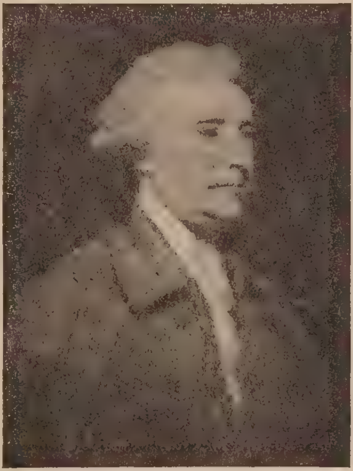
15 Geo. III. cap. 10

Lord North's Overture

On the twentieth of February, Lord North startled the house by offering, in committee of the whole, a conciliatory resolution. "When the Governor, Council, and Assembly, or General Court," so ran the motion, "of any of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies in *America* shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such Province or Colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly, of such Province or Colony, and disposable by Parliament,) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the Civil Government, and the Administration of Justice, in such Province or Colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such Province or Colony, to levy any Duty, Tax, or Assessment, or to impose any farther Duty, Tax, or Assessment, except only such Duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the Duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such Province or Colony respectively." Burke characterized the proposition as "full of perplexed and intricate mazes," "harsh," "remote, contingent, full of hazard." The resolution was generally unsatisfactory to the ministerial party, but it was approved in committee by a vote of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight, and, on the twenty-seventh of February, was agreed to by the house.

Burke's Speech on Conciliation

On the twenty-second of March, the New England restraining bill being then before the lords, Edmund Burke offered in the commons a set of resolutions in support of which he made "the sanest and most powerful plea for reasonableness and consideration put forth during the whole period of the struggle between the American colonies and the mother country," a masterpiece of argument and exposition. Lord North's resolution having offered the olive branch, said Burke, the question before the house was as to the kind of concession that ought to be tendered. There are but three ways to deal with the "fierce spirit of liberty" that characterizes the colonies. You may remove the causes that have produced it; you may prosecute it as criminal; or you may submit to it as a necessary evil. "The Americans will have no interest contrary to the grandeur and glory of England, when they are not oppressed by the weight of it. . . . I confess I feel not the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from put-

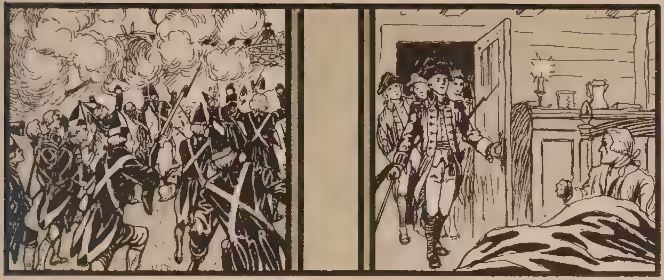


Edmund Burke

1775 ting people at their ease; nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some share of those rights upon which I have always been taught to value myself. . . . Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution."

Olive Branch and Sword

Burke's first resolution was negatived by a vote of two hundred and seventy to seventy-eight, and the others were similarly disposed of. An increase of two thousand seamen and more than twice as many soldiers, most of them to be used to raise the force at Boston to ten thousand men, had already been authorized. The policy advocated by Wedderburn in the previous year, the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other, seemed in a fair way to be tested.



CHAPTER XV

THE FIRST MONTHS OF WAR

Sending the News to London

GENERAL Gage promptly forwarded to London an account of what had taken place at Lexington and Concord, and the provincial congress sent a statement to Franklin. Captain John Derby of Salem who bore the provincial report reached London eleven days ahead of Captain Brown who bore Gage's dispatches. Thus the first reports published in England were favorable to the Americans and the belief gained currency that the ministry had received news that it did not dare to publish. Franklin received English contributions to the amount of one hundred pounds for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the men who were killed on the nineteenth of April.

The Exodus from Boston

In the meantime, John Hancock and Samuel Adams had set out for the second continental congress at Philadelphia, leaving Warren to preside over the provincial congress that was soon to meet at Watertown. A plan for withdrawing the patriot inhabitants of Boston from the town was now revived, and, on the twenty-sixth of April, Warren wrote to Gage asking his consent. Gage acquiesced on condition that all arms be left behind. On the following day, many weapons were surrendered at Faneuil Hall, one for almost every man. The exodus assumed such proportions that the Tories became alarmed and demanded that the people remain as hostages for the safety of the town. Gage withdrew his consent.

News from Lexington reached New Haven on the

1775
Benedict Arnold

twentieth. The captain of the governor's guards, a brave and impulsive man, gathered his men on the college green and offered to lead them to Boston. When it was suggested that he would better wait for orders and the selectmen refused to supply ammunition, he threatened to break into the magazine. The ammunition was supplied and the company marched to Cambridge. Such was the historical debut of Benedict Arnold. The provincial congress of Massachusetts made the Connecticut captain a colonel and, on the third of May, directed him to "proceed with all expedition to the western parts of this and the neighboring colonies, where you are directed to enlist" four hundred men for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The Green Mountain Boys

As already explained, the Vermont country was claimed by both New Hampshire and New York. On an appeal to the crown, New York won a decision favorable to her claims, and, in 1770, Ethan Allen was appointed agent to represent the settlers in the courts at Albany. As a result of consequent disagreements, an armed league for mutual protection, known as the Green Mountain Boys, was organized, and so terrorized the border that the New York officers could not serve writs or evict settlers. Two of the Vermont leaders, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, were outlawed by New York, a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds being offered by Governor Tryon for the former.

Ethan Allen

Autograph of Ethan Allen

Ticonderoga

Fort Ticonderoga contained a large supply of military stores, but its garrison numbered only about fifty men and its defenses had been weakened by time and neglect. It was well known to New England men, and it was natural that, with the first news of war, they should plan to get possession of it. John Brown of Pittsfield wrote

March 29

from Montreal to Adams and Warren that "The Fort at Tyconderogo must be seised as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the King's Troops. The people on N. Hampshire Grants have ingaged to do this

Business and in my opinion they are the most proper Persons for this Jobb." Early in May, men from Connecticut and western Massachusetts were gathering at Bennington, whence guards were sent to watch the roads leading to the lake and to intercept any carrier of news of the contemplated movement. Spies were also sent to Ticonderoga, one of whom worked his way into the fort and learned of its condition. On his return, orders were hastily given to rendezvous at Castleton where Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys were ready for action.

The New England Advance

On the eighth of May, Allen, with one hundred and forty men, set out for the lake opposite the fort. A detachment of thirty men was ready to start for Skenesboro (now Whitehall), capture the royal troops, and drop down the lake with boats enough to carry Allen and his men over to Ticonderoga. Just then Arnold appeared with his commission as colonel and commander-in-chief. He had raised no troops as his commission contemplated, and his pretensions were not well received at Castleton. On the following day, he hastened forward to overtake Allen at the shore of the lake.

May 9

The Capture of Ticonderoga

Difficulty in procuring boats caused delay. At daybreak on the tenth, Allen and Arnold had only about eighty men on the western shore, but time was precious and Allen gave the order to advance. When Arnold again claimed the command, Allen threatened to put him under guard and the Green Mountain Boys declared that they would abandon the enterprise then and there unless their own colonel held the command. A compromise, with a sort of joint leadership, was effected and the column advanced rapidly to the gate of the fort. The sentry's musket missed fire and the guard retreated into the fort closely followed by the patriots. The garrison was still asleep when, at the door of the commandant's room, Allen thundered his summons to surrender. Captain Delaplace jumped from his bed with the bewildered inquiry, "By what authority?" "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" was

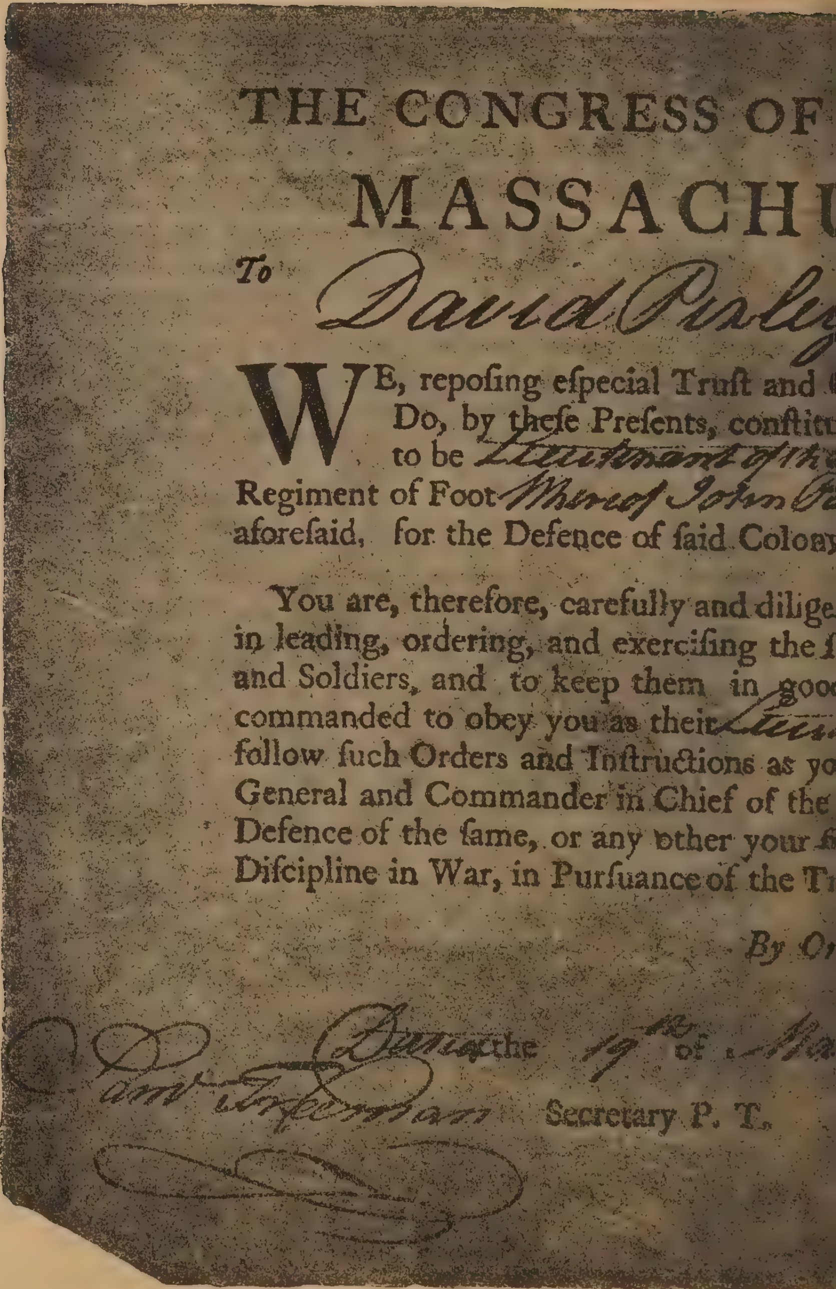
1775 Allen's famous answer, at least that is the form in which it has gone down to history. At that moment, the "continental congress" was a somewhat shadowy authority, but Allen's drawn sword more than made amends for any defect in his commission. Without delay, the surprised commandant, still in his night clothes, paraded his men without arms and surrendered. A few hours later, the second continental congress, whose authority Allen had anticipated, met at Philadelphia.

The Americans Occupy the Lake Champlain Region

The nearly fifty prisoners taken at Ticonderoga, together with the women and children, were sent to Hartford. About two hundred cannons and large quantities of military supplies fell into the hands of the Americans. Seth Warner, who had brought the rear-guard across the lake, moved upon Crown Point, and, on the twelfth, took the post with its garrison of a sergeant and twelve men, and one hundred and thirteen cannons. Another royal detachment under Major Skene was surprised at Skenesboro and a schooner and several bateaux were taken thence to Ticonderoga. With the aid of the boats, Arnold captured the fort at Saint John, on the Sorel. Fort George, at the head of Lake George, was also taken. Questions as to who planned these various movements have provoked much controversy. Ethan Allen, whom New York had lately outlawed and upon whose head she had set a price, became the hero of the hour and, in July, Arnold, greatly dissatisfied, returned to Cambridge.

General Putnam

Early in the afternoon of the twentieth of April, a dispatch from the committee of safety, with news of the fight at Concord, was received at Pomfret, Connecticut. Israel Putnam, who had won a reputation for ability and daring in the French and Indian war, left his plough in the furrow, mounted a horse without waiting to put on his uniform, and, at sunrise of the following day, presented himself at Cambridge. Before night, he was sending back from Concord directions about bringing up the Connecticut militia. He was soon recalled to Hartford for the meeting of the general assembly, but a week later returned to Cambridge as a brigadier-general in command



THE CONGRESS OF

MASSACHU

To David Pixle

WE, repoſing eſpecial Truſt and
Do, by theſe Preſents, conſtitu
to be Lieutenant of the
Regiment of Foot Whereof John
aforeſaid, for the Defence of ſaid Colony

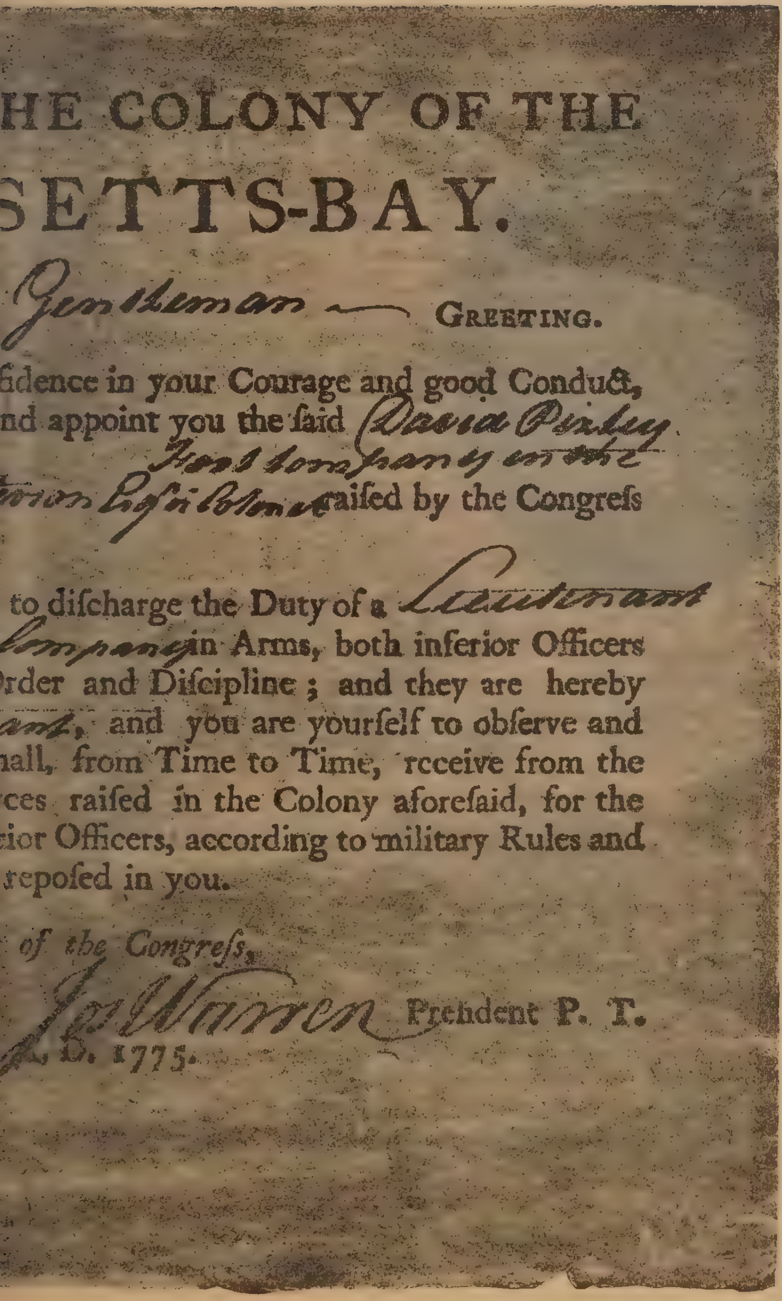
You are, therefore, carefully and dilige
in leading, ordering, and exerciſing the
and Soldiers, and to keep them in goo
commanded to obey you as their Lieu
follow ſuch Orders and Inſtructions as yo
General and Commander in Chief of the
Defence of the ſame, or any other your
Diſcipline in War, in Purſuance of the T

By Or

Dated the 19th of Ma

Saml Freeman Secretary P. T.

A Lieutenant's Commission Issued to David Pixl



HE COLONY OF THE
SETTS-BAY.

Gentleman — GREETING.

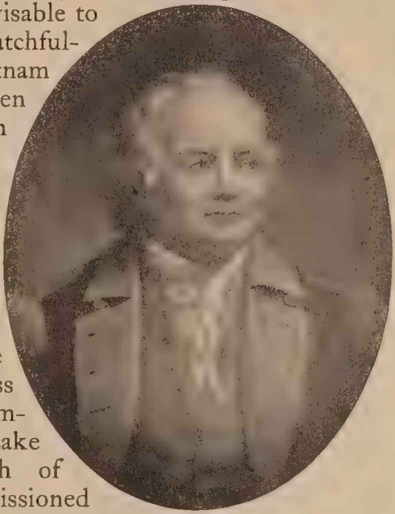
fidence in your Courage and good Conduct,
nd appoint you the ſaid *David Pixley*
First Company in the
rion Regt Colonel raiſed by the Congreſs

to diſcharge the Duty of a *Lieutenant*
Company in Arms, both inferior Officers
rder and Diſcipline; and they are hereby
ant, and you are yourſelf to obſerve and
hall, from Time to Time, receive from the
rces raiſed in the Colony aforeſaid, for the
rior Officers, according to military Rules and
repoſed in you.

of the Congreſs,
Jos Warren Preſident P. T.
D. 1775.

y the Massachusetts Provincial Congress

of the Connecticut forces. On the eighth of May, there was a false alarm that the British troops were coming out of Boston. It was thought advisable to make a show of activity and watchfulness, and, on the thirteenth, Putnam marched twenty-two hundred men from Cambridge to Charlestown Ferry and back. The route brought him within range of Gage's cannon, but the provincials were not molested.


Israel Putnam

The siege of Boston was rapidly becoming an accomplished fact. Earthworks at points of vantage began to wall in the town, and the provincial congress urged Connecticut to send to Cambridge the cannons taken at Lake Champlain. On the twentieth of May, Artemas Ward was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces. John Thomas was second in command and Richard Gridley was chief engineer. The extreme left wing of the American army at Chelsea comprised three Massachusetts companies. The New Hampshire men, under John Stark, were upon the Mystic River at Medford and near Charlestown Neck. At Cambridge were more Massachusetts companies and Putnam with his Connecticut regiment. Some four thousand Massachusetts men under John Thomas, with field-pieces and a few heavy cannons, occupied a position on the Roxbury side of the town, while at Jamaica Plain, a little further on, were Joseph Spencer with a Connecticut regiment and Nathanael Greene with the Rhode Island volunteers. Altogether, some sixteen thousand men crowded the various camps, but the army was little

In Camp about Boston

Artemas Ward

Autograph of Artemas Ward

1775 more than an inchoate mass, loosely organized, poorly equipped, and ill supplied with powder. The authority of Ward was recognized by the contingents from other colonies by courtesy only. For the work in hand, a stronger organization was necessary. Elbridge Gerry had already written, with the approval of Warren, to the Massachusetts delegates in the continental congress, that the Massachusetts leaders would "rejoice to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington."

Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne

The loyalists, meantime, were divided between hope and fear. The large reinforcements reported to be on the way from England were anxiously awaited. On the twenty-fifth of May, the troops and three general officers arrived. On the departure of the generals from London, an irreverent rhymester had sung:

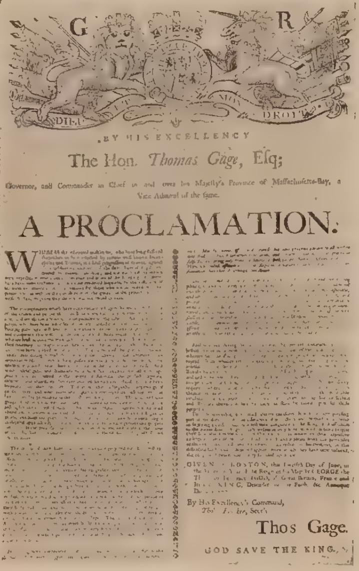
> Behold! the "Cerberus" the
>   Atlantic plough,
> Her precious cargo, Burgoyne,
>   Clinton, Howe,
> Bow! wow! wow!

With the reinforcements, Gage's army numbered about ten thousand men. The committee of safety decided to remove the live stock from the islands in the harbor and Gage undertook to secure the hay on Grape Island, near Weymouth. These foraging expeditions brought on lively skirmishes, in one of which the British lost some men, twelve swivels, and a sloop, besides the sheep and cattle that Putnam had set out to get. Chief-justice

John Burgoyne

1775
June 10

Oliver wrote from Boston that "we are daily threatened with an attack by fire-rafts, whale-boats, and what-not." On the twelfth of June, Gage issued a proclamation warning the rebellious citizens of their peril and offering amnesty to all except Samuel Adams and John Hancock; but he also wrote to the ministry that an attack on the rebels "every day becomes more necessary."


G R
DIEU ET MON DROIT

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

The Hon. *Thomas Gage*, Eſq;

Governor, and Commander in Chief in and over his Majeſty's Province of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and Vice Admiral of the ſame.

A PROCLAMATION.

By His Excellency's Command,

Thos Gage.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Gage's Amnesty Proclamation, June 12, 1775

The Americans Seize Breed's Hill

Ward was not energetic enough to satisfy the provincial congress and, on the fourteenth of June, the more active Warren was made the second major-general of the Massachusetts forces. Ward and the provincial congress had learned that Gage intended to take possession of Charlestown peninsula and to occupy Dorchester Heights in what is now South Boston. The committee of safety advised the immediate occupation of Bunker Hill, and, at a council of war held at Cambridge on the sixteenth, the plan was agreed to. That evening, Colonel William Prescott and twelve hundred men, including two hundred men from Connecticut under command of Captain Thomas Knowlton of Putnam's regiment, assembled at Cambridge, and, after prayer by the president of Harvard College, set out for Charlestown Neck. By ten o'clock they had reached Bunker Hill. Here Prescott informed his field officers of his orders. After long deliberation it was decided to advance to the lower hill, since known as Breed's Hill, half a mile nearer Boston, 1775 and to throw up intrenchments there. Putnam urged that Bunker Hill be fortified also, but his opinion did not prevail. Arriving at Breed's Hill, Colonel Richard Gridley marked out the lines of a redoubt and breastworks. The work of intrenchment went on from midnight until daybreak without attracting the attention of the enemy.

Homestead of Artemas Ward, Shrewsbury, Massachusetts

Prescott of Pepperrell

Soon after daybreak, the frigate "Lively" opened fire, and the fire was returned. Gage, awakened from sleep by the cannonading, sent orders to the frigate to cease firing, and, after conference with his officers, resolved to attack the unfinished works without delay. It is said that when Gage saw Prescott walking along the parapet, he asked Willard, one of the councilors, who the man was and whether he would fight. Willard replied, "That is Colonel Prescott; he is an old soldier and will fight as long as there is a drop of blood in his veins."

Wm Prescott

Autograph of William Prescott

The Want of Support

Prescott's men were tired and hungry after the hard night's work but the relief and refreshments promised did not come. Putnam had gone back to Cambridge and urged Ward to send reinforcements. Fearing that Gage would make a feint towards Charlestown but deliver his real attack upon Cambridge, Ward sent only a part of Stark's regiment. At ten o'clock, Prescott's call for men and food reached headquarters and Ward then sent the rest of the New Hampshire men. Putnam returned to Charlestown and soon had men at work fortifying Bunker Hill. In the meantime, floating batteries had moved up-stream with the rising tide and taken positions where they could open on the works from the Charles River and flank the Neck. Prescott, looking towards the Neck for the expected and promised reinforcements, saw only a few wagons and those were bringing beer instead of men. The weary soldiers began to suspect that they had been left to their fate, but they were encouraged by the presence of a few leaders who arrived from Cambridge. James Otis, a mental wreck, was there, and Warren, a major-general who had come to fight under the command of a colonel. Putnam, advanced in years and knowing little of the art of war, rode about in a restless way, encouraging the men and telling the few recruits that arrived where to go.

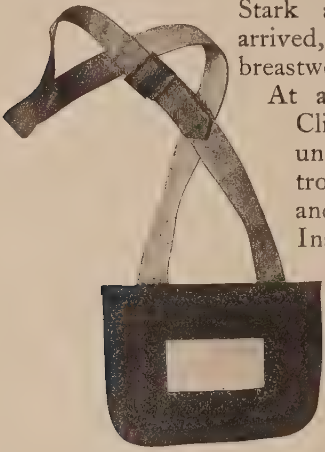
June 17

View of Charlestown from Beacon Hill
(A sketch made by the British Engineer, Montresor, before the battle)

Knowlton on the Left

Knowlton's Connecticut troops, with two guns, were sent to take position on the southern slope of Bunker Hill, behind a low stone wall topped by a two-rail fence and extending towards the Mystic. Along this wall a parallel line of fence was built and the space between was filled with freshly-cut grass. This formed the left of the American line. Between it and the redoubt was an open space where the few field-pieces at hand were placed to

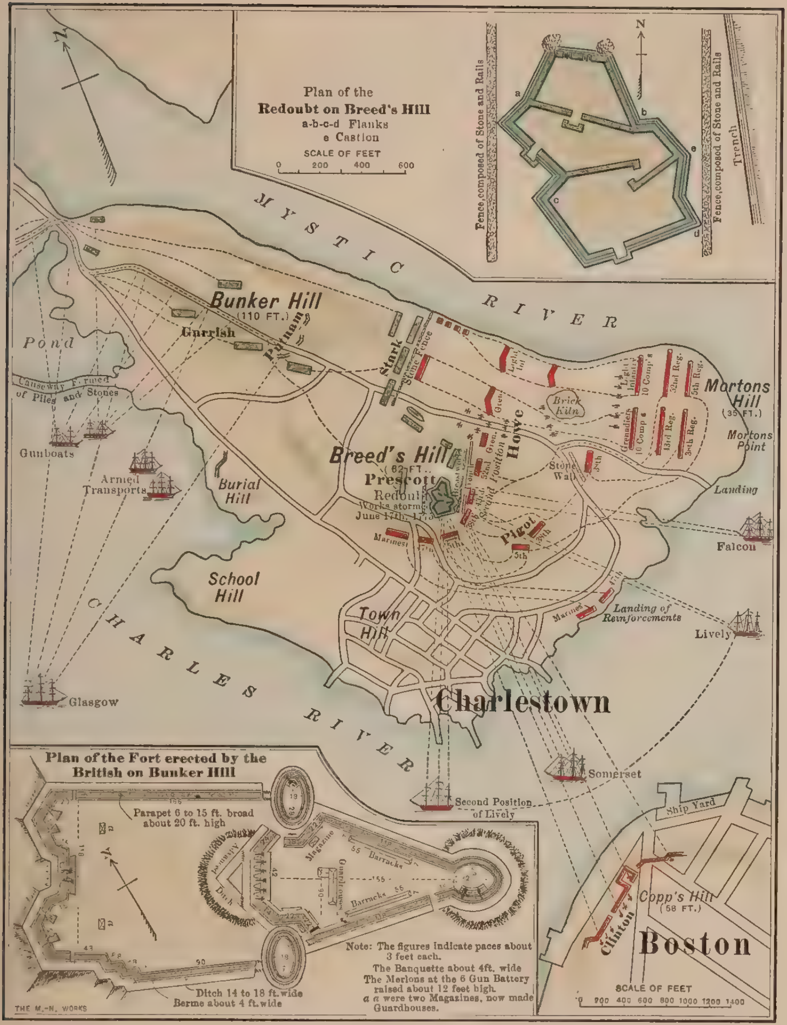
1775 strengthen the position as much as possible. When Stark and his New Hampshire troops arrived, they joined Knowlton at the grass breastwork.


Cartridge-box worn by Abraham Tuttle of New Haven at the Battle of Bunker Hill

At a British council of war in Boston, Clinton, cautious even in the face of undisciplined countrymen, urged that troops be landed at Charlestown Neck and the Americans attacked in the rear. Instead, it was decided to attack in front—a piece of bravado that ruined Gage's reputation as a soldier and came near costing the British the loss of their army. By noon, the British troops, under the command of General William Howe, were in motion. The first detachment was landed at Morton's (or Moulton's) Point, where, by three o'clock, Howe had about three thousand men. The British advanced in two columns: one on the right led by Howe in person, towards the rail fence and wall; the other, under General Pigot, towards the redoubt. Howe's artillery soon drove the American field-pieces from their position and the attack centered on the redoubt. There are countless stories of how the American officers cautioned their men to "Fire low," "Aim at the waistbands," etc. John Fiske says: "There is no boy in America who does not believe that Putnam and Prescott bade their men wait till they could see the whites of the eyes of the British." At all events, the Americans reserved their fire until the enemy were close upon them; then the fire came in a deadly blast and the British left retreated in confusion to the boats at the beach. Howe's column, advancing along the Mystic, was fired upon by the field-pieces that had withdrawn to the fence; then Knowlton's men opened upon the British at short range and the repulse was complete.

The First Attack and Repulse

Meantime, Putnam was bringing up reinforcements

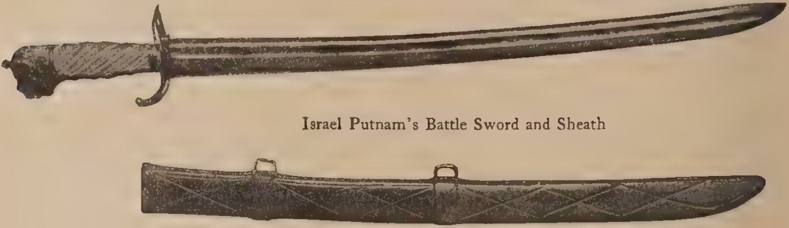


MAP OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

1775

Putnam and Pomeroy

from the rear and hurrying them across the Neck which was swept by a raking fire from the fleet. Among the new arrivals was Seth Pomeroy, a veteran of Louisburg and nearly seventy years of age. Unwilling to risk his borrowed horse to the fire that swept the Neck, he marched across on foot and was saluted by "Old Put" with "You here! God! I believe a cannon would wake you if you slept in the grave." As Pomeroy took his station with the Connecticut troops at the rail fence, in the hottest of the battle, he was quickly recognized and his name was carried with shouts along the line.



Israel Putnam's Battle Sword and Sheath

> . . . a splendid mark he made;
> He never flinched a single inch when
> British cannon played,
> But foddered up an old rail-fence with
> Massachusetts hay,
> Stood out the battle at the rack, and
> Stoutly blazed away.

The Second Attack and Repulse

Howe was soon ready for a second attempt. Partly in hope of distracting the attention of the Americans and partly with a view to covering his own advance, he had sent word to Burgoyne to shell Charlestown and that town was soon in flames.

> The Lord in heaven confound them,
> Rain his fire and brimstone round them,—
> The robbing, murdering red-coats that
> Would burn a peaceful town!

The wind shifted, however, and the smoke did not conceal the British as had been anticipated. Howe's artillery helped him more than in the first assault, though it was said that, thanks to the "dotage of an officer of high rank who spends all his time with the school-master's daughters," he lacked shot of the proper size. Stark

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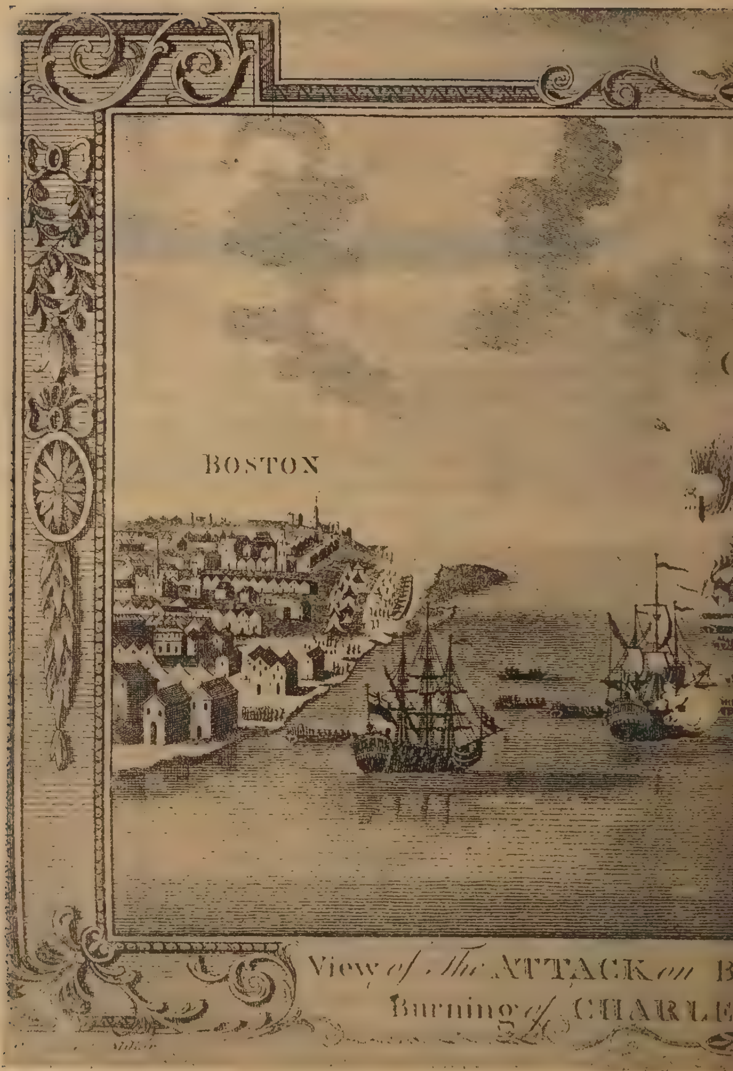

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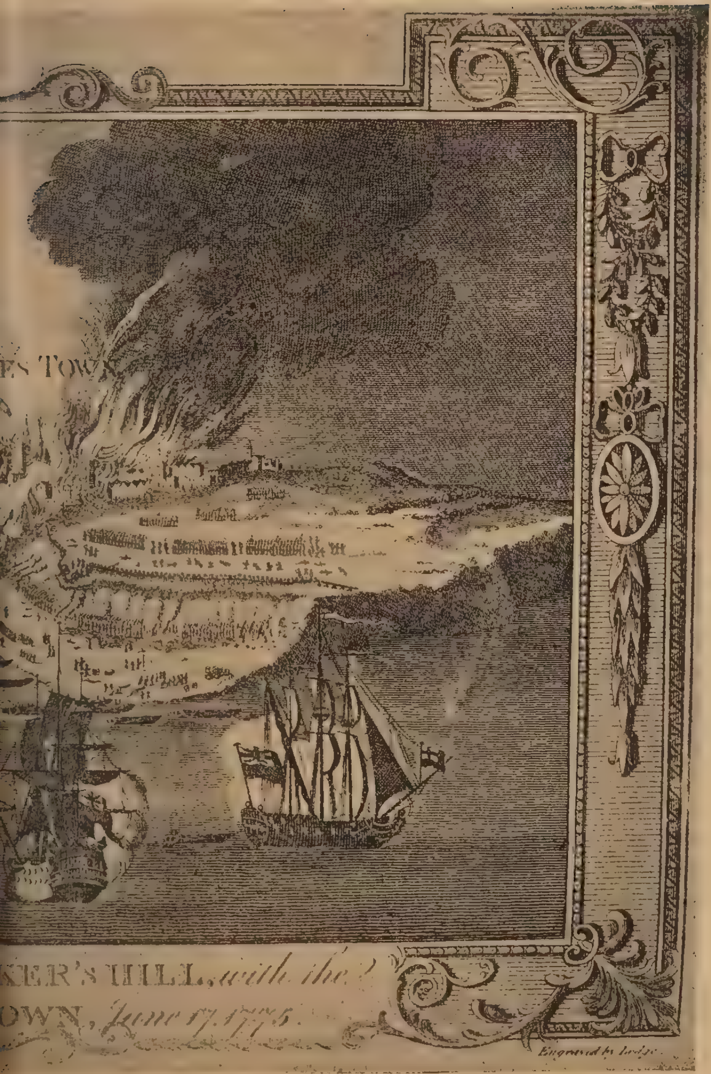

ES TOWN
KER'S HILL, with the
OWN, June 17. 1775.
Engraved by Lodge.

New York Public Library (Emmet Collection)

and Knowlton at the fence and Prescott at the redoubt again restrained their men while Howe and Pigot, leading their divisions as before, advanced up the hill. Again there were deadly volleys, momentary struggles, and retreat along the whole British line. Every officer of Howe's staff was killed or wounded, as was every man in one company of the fifty-second regiment. "They may talk of their Mindens and their Fontenoys, but there was no such fire there," said Howe.

Confusion and Desperation

Clinton, watching the battle from Boston, sent four hundred marines to reinforce Howe and himself followed as a volunteer. On the American side, Ward sent reinforcements from Cambridge, but such was the confusion and delay that few arrived in time to be of service. Prescott's powder was almost gone, and, despairing of relief, he prepared as best he could for the hand-to-hand struggle that was soon to come.

The British Carry the Redoubt

Howe now brought his artillery effectively into play, as he might have done at the outset. A raking fire drove the Americans from their breastwork into the redoubt, against which the British for a third time advanced, the men reserving their fire and relying upon the bayonet. Once more at short range they met the terrible fire that twice had driven them back; but this time, though they wavered, they rallied and pushed on. The first to scale the redoubt were shot down, Major Pitcairn among them, but others followed. Soon the American fire slackened and the British took fresh courage; Prescott's men were out of powder and few of them had bayonets. As the provincials fell back, Pomeroy leaped upon the rampart, waving his gun over his head and shouting, "Don't run, boys, don't run! Club them with your muskets, as I do! No enemy shall ever say he saw the back of Seth Pomeroy." But further defense was hopeless and Prescott, "not too late and not a moment too early," ordered a retreat.

The Americans Driven Back

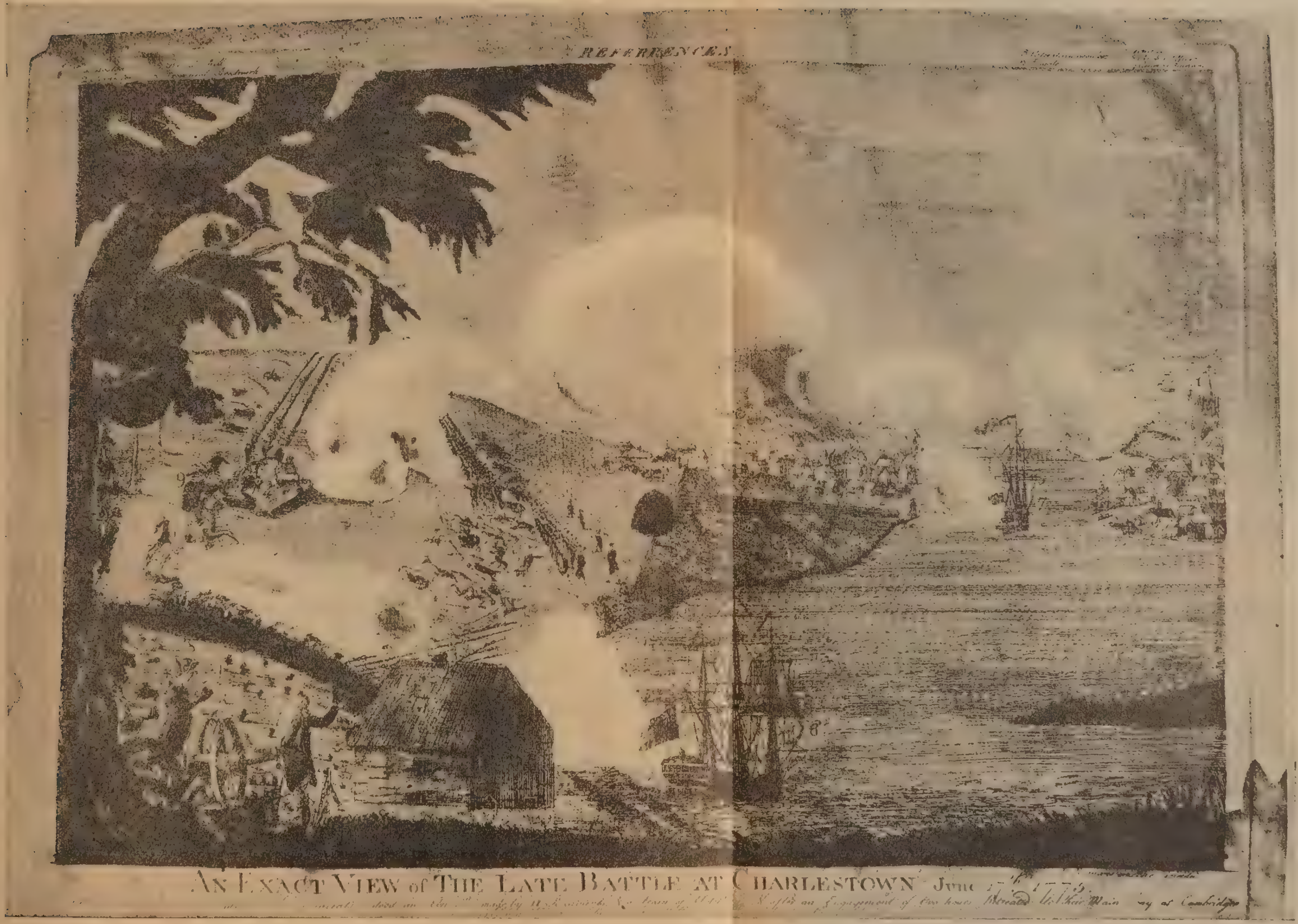
As the mingled mass of friend and foe surged down the rear slope of the hill, Warren was shot through the head. "Better to die honorably in the field," he is

1775 reported to have said, "than ignominiously hang upon the gallows." The British halted to form and fire, while Stark and Knowlton faced them long enough to cover Prescott's retreat and then slowly fell back. Putnam was unable to check either the provincial or the royal troops at Bunker Hill, though he "commanded, pleaded, cursed and swore like a madman." After the war, he made before the church of which he was a member a humble confession of his profanity on this occasion, but at the same time stoutly maintained that "it was almost enough to make an angel swear to see the cowards refuse to secure a victory so nearly won." The Americans fled across Charlestown Neck, the fleet pouring its fire into the "huddled runaways" and Howe's field-pieces firing a few shots from Bunker Hill. Clinton urged an immediate advance upon Cambridge, but Howe declined the advice and began to intrench himself. It was now five o'clock. The British passed the night on the battle-field and the Americans made their way to Cambridge.

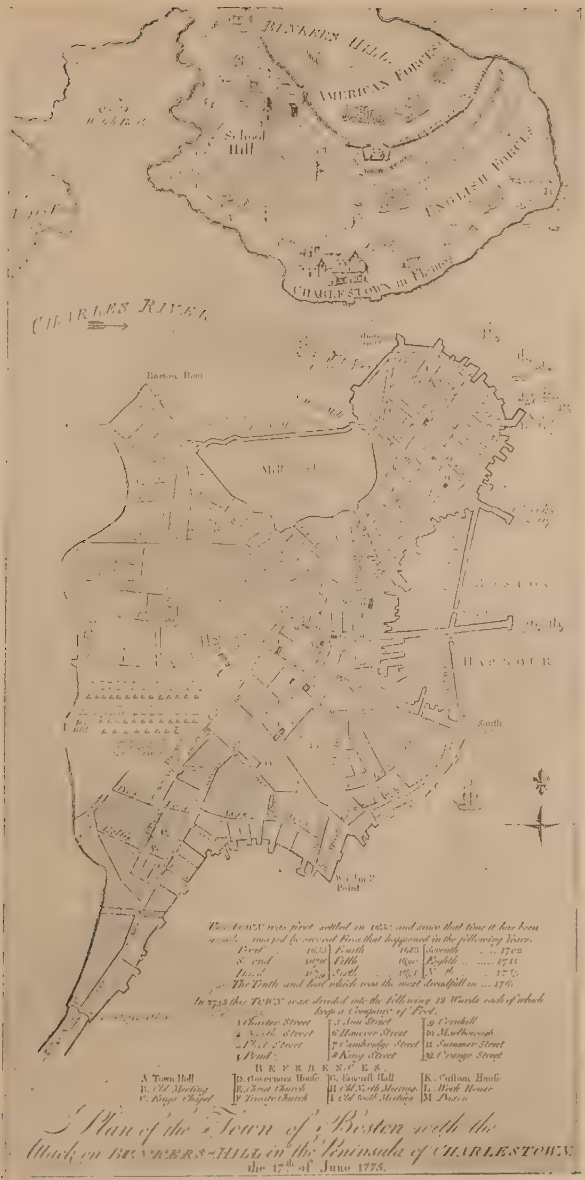
A Woodcut of Joseph Warren from George's *Almanack*, 1775

The Losses

The American loss was one hundred and fifty killed, two hundred and seventy wounded, and thirty taken prisoners, a total of four hundred and fifty. The death of Warren was deeply lamented and the burning of Charlestown prostrated one of the most flourishing towns


REFERENCES
AN EXACT VIEW of THE LATE BATTLE AT CHARLESTOWN June 17th 1775

Reproduced from an original copper-plate engraving in collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society

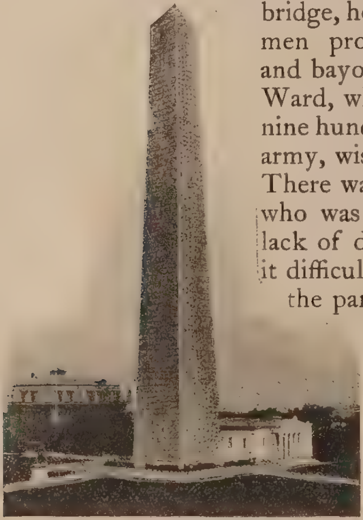


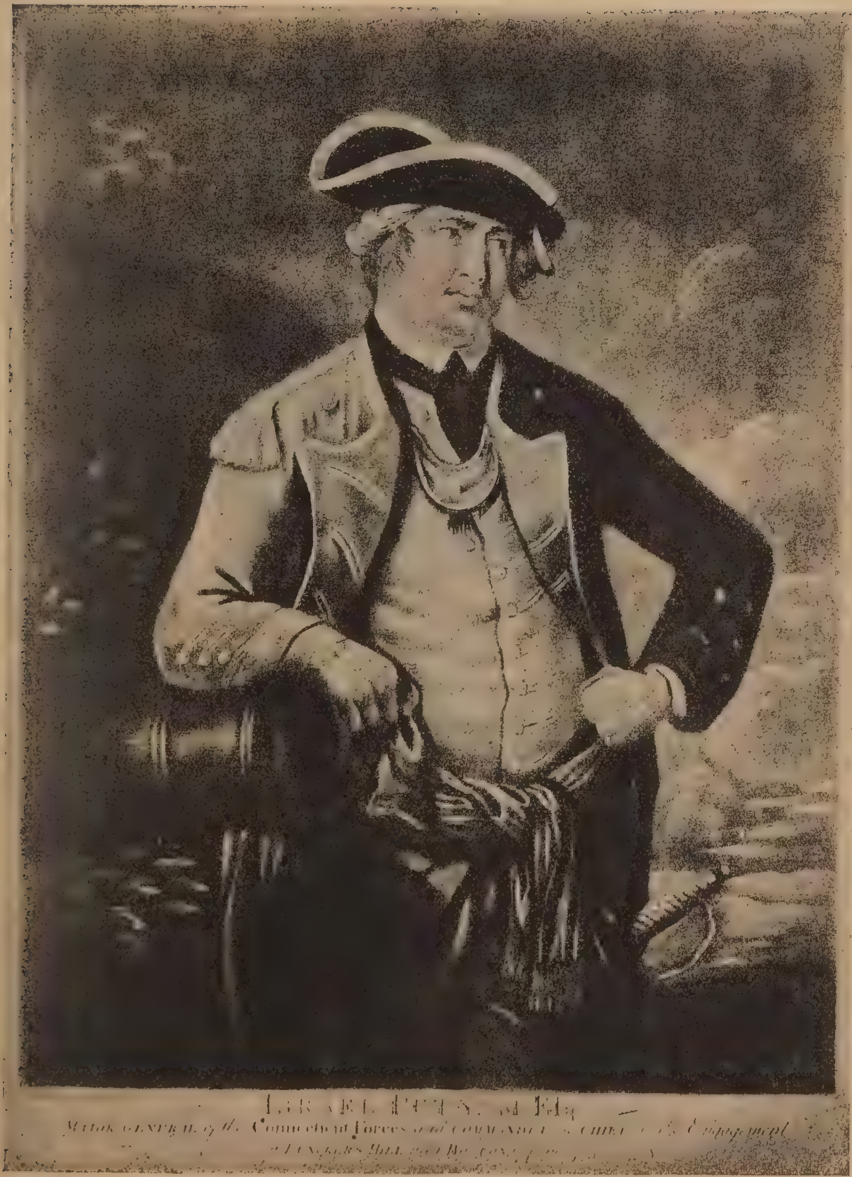
A CONTEMPORARY MAP OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

1775 in New England. The British loss as reported by Gage was two hundred and twenty-four killed and eight hundred and thirty wounded, a total of ten hundred and fifty-four, of whom one hundred and fifty-seven were officers. Putnam grimly declared that he would be willing to sell another hill to King George at the same price. The battle on the Plains of Abraham did not cost the lives of so many officers as did that of Bunker Hill, nor did the British, in the whole course of the Revolutionary war, meet more stubborn resistance or lose relatively so large a number of men. In spite of the courage and steadiness of the British regulars and the retreat of the Americans, the victory at Bunker Hill is not counted among the great triumphs of British arms.

Prescott's Indignation

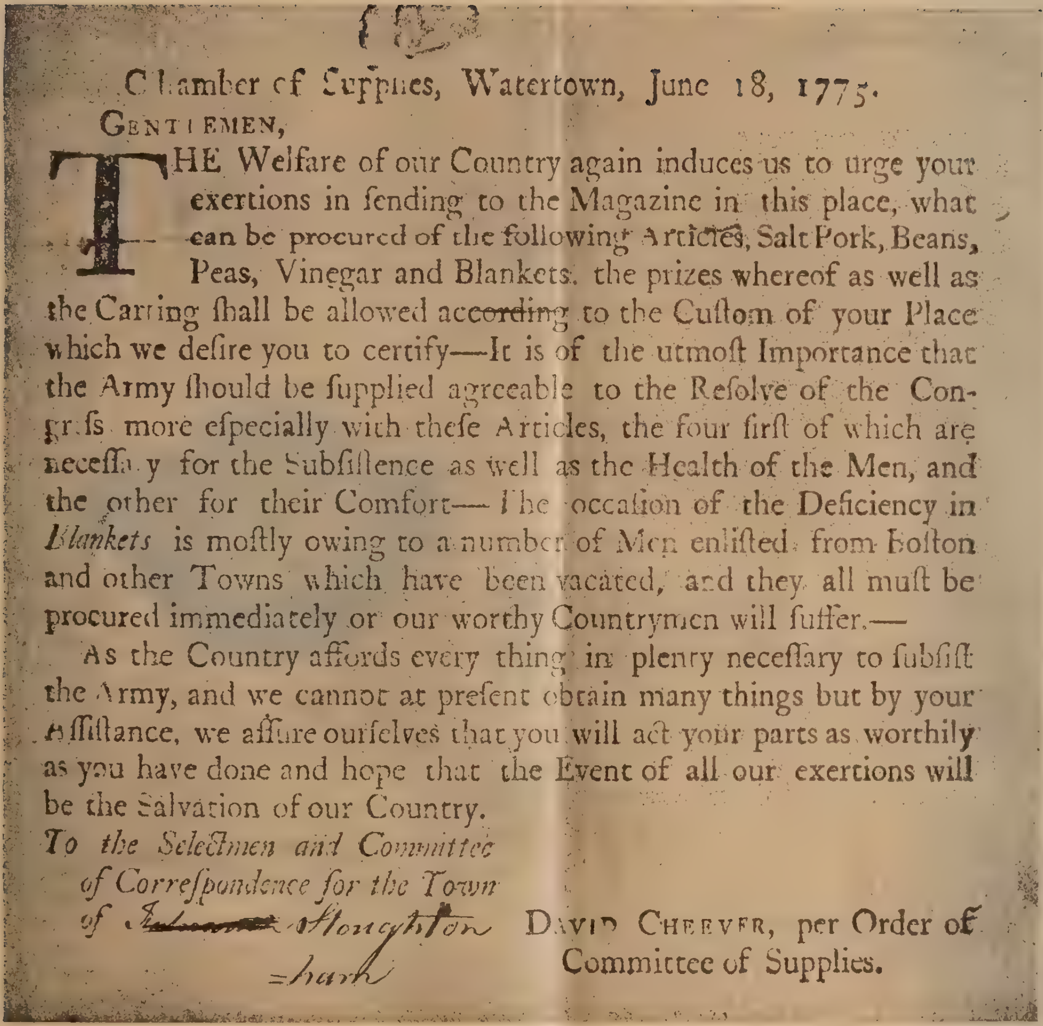
Prescott was unwounded but indignant. He knew that he had made a gallant fight and felt that he should have been better supported. On his return to Cambridge, he declared that, with fifteen hundred men properly equipped with ammunition and bayonets, he would retake the hills; but Ward, who before the battle had but sixty-nine hundred pounds of powder for his whole army, wisely declined a second engagement. There was, of course, sharp discussion as to who was responsible for the disaster. The lack of definite military organization makes it difficult to apportion responsibility, while the partisans of Prescott and Putnam have maintained to this day a controversy as to which of the two was in supreme command. The battle of Bunker Hill showed the British that the Americans would fight. "The trials we have had," wrote Gage to Lord Dartmouth, "show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be. . . . They intrench, and raise batteries; they have engineers. . . . The conquest of this country is not easy; you


Bunker Hill Monument



Israel Putnam

From original mezzotint engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection)



Chamber of Supplies, Watertown, June 18, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Welfare of our Country again induces us to urge your exertions in ſending to the Magazine in this place, what can be procured of the following Articles, Salt Pork, Beans, Peas, Vinegar and Blankets: the prizes whereof as well as the Carting ſhall be allowed according to the Cuſtom of your Place which we deſire you to certify—It is of the utmoſt Importance that the Army ſhould be ſupplied agreeable to the Reſolve of the Congreſs more eſpecially with theſe Articles, the four firſt of which are neceſſary for the Subſiſtence as well as the Health of the Men, and the other for their Comfort—The occaſion of the Deficiency in *Blankets* is moſtly owing to a number of Men enliſted from Boſton and other Towns which have been vacated, and they all muſt be procured immediately or our worthy Countrymen will ſuffer.—

As the Country affords every thing in plenty neceſſary to ſubſiſt the Army, and we cannot at preſent obtain many things but by your aſſiſtance, we aſſure ourſelves that you will act your parts as worthily as you have done and hope that the Event of all our exertions will be the Salvation of our Country.

To the Selectmen and Committee
of Correſpondence for the Town
of Stoughton-
-ham

DAVID CHEEVER, per Order of
Committee of Supplies.

APPEAL FOR PROVISIONS
From original broadside in the Boston Public Library

FROM CANNON'S "HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE TWENTY-THIRD FOOT OR ROYAL WELSH FUSILEERS"

"The Royal Regiment of Welsh Fusileers has a privileged honor of passing in review, preceded by a *goat* with *gilded horns*, and adorned with *ringlets of flowers*; and although this may not come immediately under the denomination of a reward for merit, yet the corps values itself much on the ancientness of the custom.

"Every 1st of March, being the anniversary of their tutelar saint, David, the officers give a splendid entertainment to all their Welsh brethren, and after the cloth is taken away, a bumper is filled round to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, (whose health is always drunk to first on that day,) the band playing the old tune of '*The noble race of Shenkin*,' when a handsome drum-boy, elegantly dressed, mounted on the goat, richly caparisoned for the occasion, is led thrice round the table in procession by the drum-major.

"It happened in 1775, at Boston, that the animal gave such a spring from the floor, that he dropped his rider upon the table, and then bounding over the heads of some officers, he ran to the barracks with all his trappings, to the no small joy of the garrison." —From Grose's *Military Antiquities*.

have to cope with vast numbers. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverence, as they do now." 1775

CHAPTER XVI

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—ITS FIRST SESSION

Taking Sides

BY this time, the feeling that war was being waged, not against Massachusetts alone, but against all the colonies, had gone far to make American union an accomplished fact. The first continental congress was not an organic body with defined and authoritative functions, but its resolutions had been received with respect and there was a general disposition to heed its suggestions and to defer to its leadership. Parties, too, were becoming differentiated. The committees of correspondence and of public safety, with what was left of the old Sons of Liberty, formed a nucleus around which the radical patriots gathered; this body was now growing rapidly. Of course, there was no organization comparable to the great political parties of today. In the era of which we are now speaking, loosely organized committees assumed to act for wholly unorganized bodies of citizens; but their acts were approved and that gave them effectiveness.

The Colonies Stand Together

Lord North had intimated to Franklin that, for the sake of peace the ministry might consent to the repeal of the tea duty and the Boston port act, but that the changes made in the Massachusetts charter must remain "as a standing example of the power of Parliament." To this Franklin replied: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." With the appearance in the commons of the New England restraining bill, Franklin was convinced that reconciliation was impossible; in March, 1775, he sailed for America. The purpose of Lord North's conciliatory resolution, pronounced by Chatham "a puerile mockery," doubtless was to divide the colonies; but, if so, it failed of its purpose. For example, when Governor Penn urged Pennsylvania to separate action, the assembly promptly told him that it would be dishonorable to take any action without the approval of the other colonies, and William Franklin, the royal governor of New Jersey, was informed by the assembly of that colony that they had not the least design of deserting the common cause. Still, if America was united, England was no less so.

Public Opinion in England

The commercial interests of England, threatened with loss of trade, had petitioned against the two restraining acts, but the eyes of the king and his ministers seem to have been shut against the signs of the times. The assembly of Jamaica protested its loyalty, but expressed its amazement at "a plan, almost carried into execution, for reducing the colonies into the most abject state of slavery." The English colonists in Quebec petitioned against the Quebec act as a violation of their rights. John Wilkes, now lord mayor of London as well as member of parliament, presented to the king a strongly worded remonstrance against measures "big with all the consequences which could alarm a free and commercial people" and really intended "to establish arbitrary power over all America," and urged the immediate dismissal of the ministry. The reply from the throne expressed the "utmost astonishment" that any one could thus encourage rebels in America, expressed "entire confidence" in parliament and the ministry, and announced the purpose steadily to pursue "those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests" of the kingdom. April 10

Choosing Delegates

In America, the choosing of delegates to the second continental congress was not neglected because of the out-

1775 break of actual war. In January, Lord Dartmouth had instructed the colonial governors to do their utmost to prevent the election of delegates, but the governors were either powerless or were outwitted by the keen and energetic patriot leaders. The Rhode Island assembly reappointed Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward who had represented the colony in the first congress. The assembly of New York having refused to appoint representatives, a provincial convention met and made the appointments, and the committee of correspondence drafted an "Association for the Defense of Colonial Rights" and called upon the people to sign it. Pennsylvania granted Galloway's request to be excused from further service, added Franklin, who had just arrived from England, to its delegation, and placed him at the head of a new committee of safety. The assemblies of Delaware and Maryland made their selections, while in North Carolina the delegates were chosen by a provincial congress. In New Jersey, the adjournment of the assembly was followed by the organization of a provincial congress and the adoption of an agreement similar to that of New York.

Watch used by Stephen Hopkins

The Second Continental Congress

On Wednesday, the tenth of May, 1775, the day that Ethan Allen called at Ticonderoga, the second continental congress met in the state-house at Philadelphia; most of the delegates had assembled in Carpenters' Hall the year before. All the colonies were represented, the delegates from Georgia being the last to arrive. Randolph was again chosen president and Charles Thomson secretary, while the Reverend Mr. Duché once more opened the proceedings with prayer. Randolph was soon called back to Virginia to preside over the house of burgesses of which he was speaker, and John Hancock was elected in his place. There is a story to the effect that Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, a man of gigantic strength who had himself been nominated for president, seized Hancock and carried him bodily to the seat of honor and then, turning to the congress, said: "Gentlemen, we will show Mother Britain how little we care for her by making a

1775

Pennsylvania State-house

Massachusetts man president, whom she has excluded from pardon by a public proclamation." As in the previous congress, it was decided to do business behind closed doors and to bind the members to secrecy.

At Work

On the second day of its session, the congress listened to a circular letter of the fifth of February from Bollan, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, colonial agents in London, outlining the course of events in England up to that time, and to a letter of the third of May from the Massachusetts provincial congress, informing it that Massachusetts had resolved to raise thirteen thousand six hundred men, that New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had been asked to raise proportionate numbers, and that one hundred thousand pounds in paper money was to be issued. For these several acts, the approval of the continental congress was asked. Accompanying the Massachusetts letter were depositions tending to show that the British had been the aggressors at Lexington and Concord, and a copy of an address of the provincial congress

1775 to the people of Great Britain, dated on the twenty-sixth of April. The people of New York also asked advice as to their course in view of the expected arrival of troops. They were advised to act on the defensive as long as possible, but not to allow the troops to erect fortifications or to cut off communication between the town and the country, and, in case of hostilities or the invasion of private property, to "repel force by force." As measures of precaution, it was further recommended that military stores be removed from the town and that places of retreat be provided for women and children.

The Guiding Hand

Acting upon specific cases as they arose, congress gradually assumed the direction of colonial resistance. For example, on the seventeenth of May, it voted that exportation to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the single parish that had sent a representative to the congress, and East and West Florida cease immediately, and that no provisions or supplies be furnished to the British fishermen on the coast until further notice. The next day, it recommended that the cannons and stores at Ticonderoga be removed to the south end of Lake George, and that an inventory of them be taken "in order that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation." A week later, it decided upon the establishment of a fortified post at Kings Bridge to protect communication with New York, and directed that the militia of New York be organized and held in readiness. As it was "very uncertain" whether the efforts being made to bring about reconciliation would succeed, the provincial congress was urged "to persevere the more vigorously in preparing for their defence." The day that saw the passage of this May 26 resolve saw the adoption of another declaring that "these Colonies be immediately put into a state of defence."

Sundry Details

There were loud complaints of infractions of the "Association" of 1774, as well as of the hard terms imposed upon violators of that agreement. Congress was appealed to, but declined to assume general responsibility, merely resolving that each colony, through its committee, should settle the terms on which an offender should be restored to public confidence; Canada was once more approached, a letter written by John Jay being adopted and circulated in a French translation. The loyalty of the people of Nantucket, and especially their willingness to refrain from selling supplies to British fishermen, were evidently distrusted, for it was resolved that "no provisions or necessaries of any kind" be exported to Nantucket save from Massachusetts, and that the provincial congress see to it that the island be provided "with as much provision as shall be necessary for its internal use, and no more." The same day a committee, of which Franklin was chairman, was appointed to consider the establishment of a postal service. The movement towards union received another impulse in the resolve that "no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any Colony or body of Colonists, against or into Canada." May 29 June 1

Adams and Independence

The question of independence could not be kept out of congressional debates or private discussions. John Adams wanted the matter settled without delay. He was convinced that further petitions and remonstrances were useless. He would have had the crown officers seized and held as hostages for the safety of the people of Boston, state governments set up, and independence declared; then he would treat with Great Britain and, if need be, form alliances with other powers. He stated his views freely in the congress and elsewhere, but the majority of the members, notably those from Pennsylvania, were not ready to follow him. He, however, did not make the mistake of thinking that the majority of the people in the colonies felt as he did, and declared that the assertion that the people of Massachusetts were seeking independence was "as great a slander on the province as ever was committed to writing." As late as April, 1776, Samuel Adams said, in congress, that "the child Independence is now struggling for birth."

1775

The Sovereign Power

On the second of June, a letter from the Massachusetts provincial congress, then in session at Watertown, was laid before the continental congress. The letter eloquently set forth the condition of that province, in arms against the mother country and with civil government suspended, and earnestly besought the advice of congress "respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government, which we think absolutely necessary for the salvation of our country," and pledged submission to such advice if it was given. This raised the grave question of sovereign powers. The congress took a week to consider it; on the ninth, came the momentous vote that no obedience was due to the act of parliament altering the charter of Massachusetts or to any governor presuming to act under it, that the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor were to be regarded as vacant, that, under the direction of the provincial congress, an assembly ought to be chosen, and that the assembly, with councilors to be chosen by the assembly, should assume the powers of government until such times as a royal governor should be appointed to govern according to the charter.

The Continental Army

The work of military preparation demanded prompt attention. The army about Boston was soon adopted as the continental army. Five thousand barrels of flour were directed to be forwarded from New York by way of Providence to Massachusetts, and the New England colonies were called upon for as much powder as they could spare. Efforts were made to collect at convenient points the whole available supply of powder and to increase the total amount. The colonies were earnestly besought to send to New York and Philadelphia for manufacture into gunpowder all the saltpeter and sulphur that could be obtained, and a committee, of which Franklin was a member, was created to devise means of setting up the manufacture of saltpeter. Six companies of expert riflemen were ordered raised immediately in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia, with orders to join the army at Boston. The pay of the officers and privates was fixed at twenty dollars a month for a captain, thirteen and one-third dollars for a lieutenant, eight dollars for a sergeant, seven and one-third dollars for a corporal, drummer, or trumpeter, six and two-thirds dollars for a private. The men were to furnish their own arms and clothing and were to be enlisted for a year.

Washington is made Commander-in-chief

Personal ambitions and sectional rivalries first manifested themselves openly in the choice of a commander-in-chief. The southern colonies were jealous of a New England army, under a New England general; on the other hand, John Adams declared that Hancock coveted the high honor of command and that the New England delegates were divided. On Thursday, the fifteenth of June, Adams moved the adoption of the army at Cambridge as a continental army and the appointment of a commander-in-chief. He had, he said, but one person in mind for that important command, "a gentleman from Virginia who was among us and very well known to all of us, a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the union." Washington, who wore his uniform at the sessions, recognized the allusion to himself and "darted into the library room," while Hancock's face showed "mortification and resentment." The nomination was made by Thomas Johnson of Maryland and seconded by John Adams; the election was unanimous. The next day, Washington accepted the honor and declined to receive any compensation for his services beyond the reimbursement of his expenses. On the twenty-first, he set out on horseback from Philadelphia to take command of the American forces encamped around Boston.

June 16

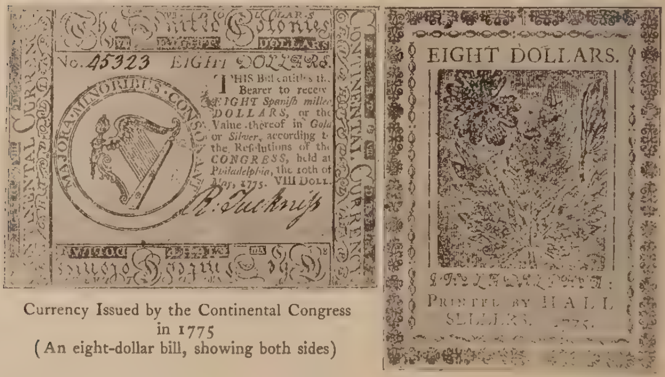
General Officers

Provision was made for four major-generals, eight brigadier-generals, an adjutant-general, a commissary-general, a quartermaster-general, a paymaster-general, and a chief-engineer. The major-generals chosen were Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel

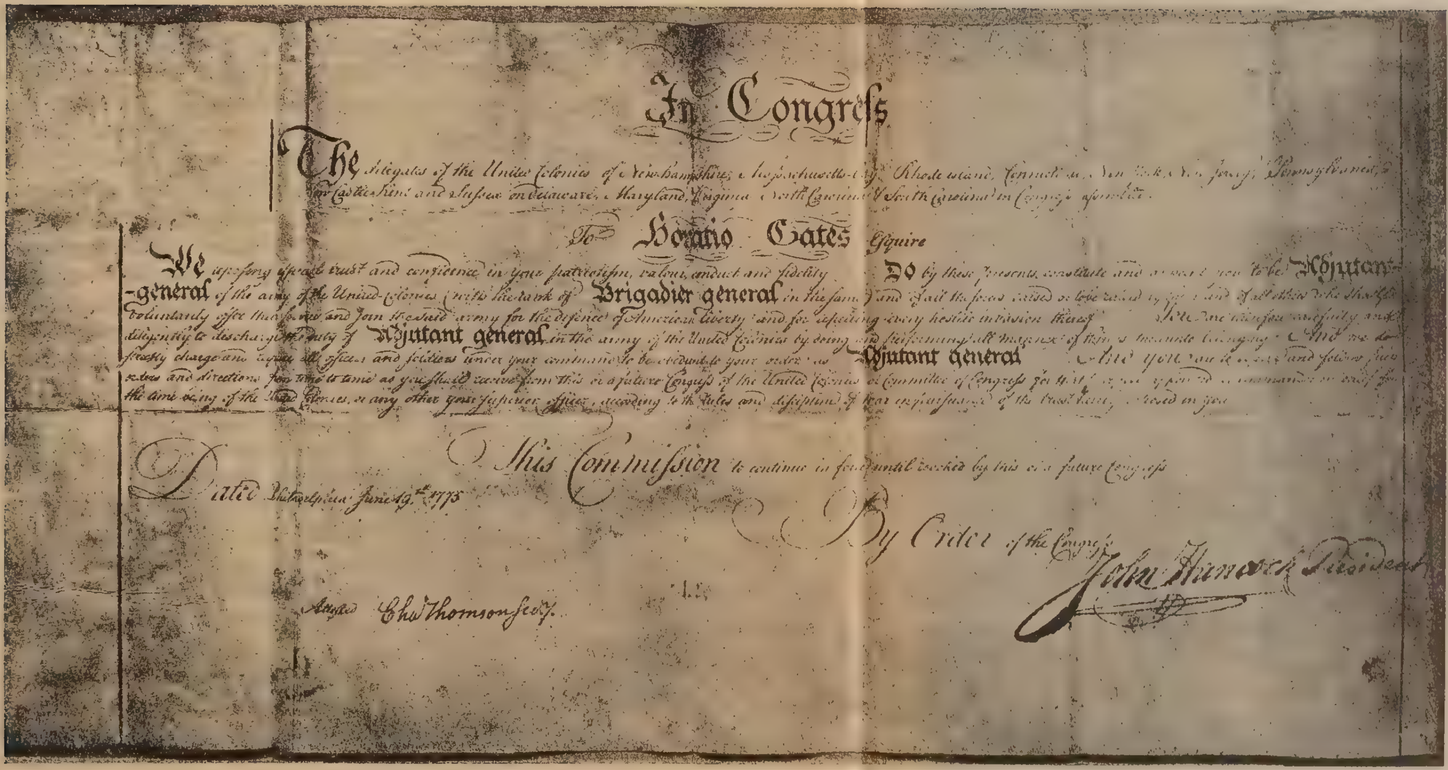
1775 Putnam. The brigadiers were Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathanael Greene. The majority of these already held provincial commissions of some sort. Horatio Gates, adjutant-general, was given the rank of a brigadier-general. Gates and Lee had been officers in the British army, and, against strong opposition, Washington urged their appointment on that account. It was agreed that congress should make good to Lee any loss he might sustain by exchanging his British commission for an American one and he subsequently obtained a grant of thirty thousand dollars on that account. Pomeroy had already retired from the service and did not accept his commission.

Finance

Congress had been informed that Massachusetts had arranged to issue notes to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and its assistance had been requested "in rendering our measures effectual, by giving our notes a currency through the Continent." On the third of June, a committee of which Washington was chairman was appointed "to bring in an estimate of the money necessary to be raised." At the same time, another committee made up of Pennsylvania delegates, was directed to borrow six thousand pounds for the purchase of powder, "for the repayment of which with interest the


No. 45323
EIGHT DOLLARS.
THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive EIGHT Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the CONGRESS, held at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.
VIII DOLL.
MAJORA MINORIBUS CONSONANT
CONTINENTAL CURRENCY
EIGHT DOLLARS.
PRINTED BY HALL AND SELLERS. 1775.

Currency Issued by the Continental Congress in 1775
(An eight-dollar bill, showing both sides)



In Congreſs

The delegates of the United Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina in Congreſs aſsembled.

To Horatio Gates Esquire

We reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity Do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Adjutant-general of the army of the United Colonies (with the rank of Brigadier general in the same) and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service and join the said army for the defence of American liberty and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Adjutant general in the army of the United Colonies by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders as Adjutant general And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congreſs of the United Colonies or Committee of Congreſs for that purpose appointed or commander in chief for the time being of the United Colonies, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war in pursuance of the trust reposed in you

This Commiſsion to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congreſs

Dated Philadelphia June 19th 1775

By Order of the Congreſs
John Hancock President

Attest Chas Thomson secy.

Brigadier-General's Commission issued to Horatio Gates
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society

[illegible]

Congress will make full and ample provision." Thus began the national debt. Franklin urged that funds be raised by loans rather than by bills of credit, but his advice was overborne. "Do you think, gentlemen," said one delegate, "that I will consent to load my constituents with taxes when we can send to our printer and get a wagon-load of money, one quire of which will pay for the whole?" On the twenty-second of June, congress directed the issue of two million dollars in bills of credit, pledging "the twelve confederated Colonies" for their redemption. John Adams was chairman of the committee appointed to attend to engraving and printing the bills. A month later, a further issue of one million dollars, in thirty-dollar bills, was ordered. As each bill had to be signed by two members of congress, a large committee was appointed for the purpose.

July 25

The Continental Treasury

This first financial structure was completed by the appointment of two persons as "joint Treasurers of the United Colonies," with their office at Philadelphia, and by the adoption of a scheme for the redemption of the notes. There was to be a treasurer for each colony, and each colony was to provide a sinking fund for its share of the bills, the apportionment to be in accordance with population. A preliminary apportionment was fixed, to serve until an enumeration should be made. The bills were to be redeemed in gold and silver, and, when redeemed, were to be destroyed. As there was little gold or silver in the country and that little did not find its way into the congressional treasury, the country went at once upon a paper basis.

July 29

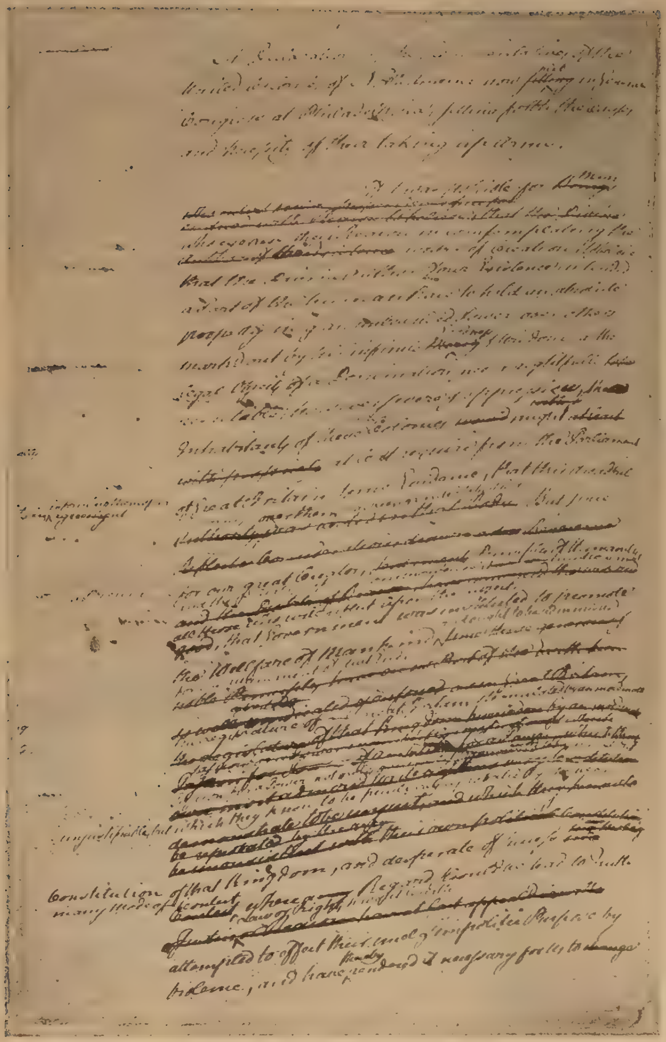
A Forcible Declaration

The formal state papers adopted by this congress during its first session rank among the ablest documents in American history and merit careful reading by all who would understand the causes of the Revolution. The weightiest utterance is the great *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms*, which was adopted on the sixth of July. The original draft, prepared by Jefferson who had taken his seat on the twenty-first of June, the day on which Washington left Philadelphia for

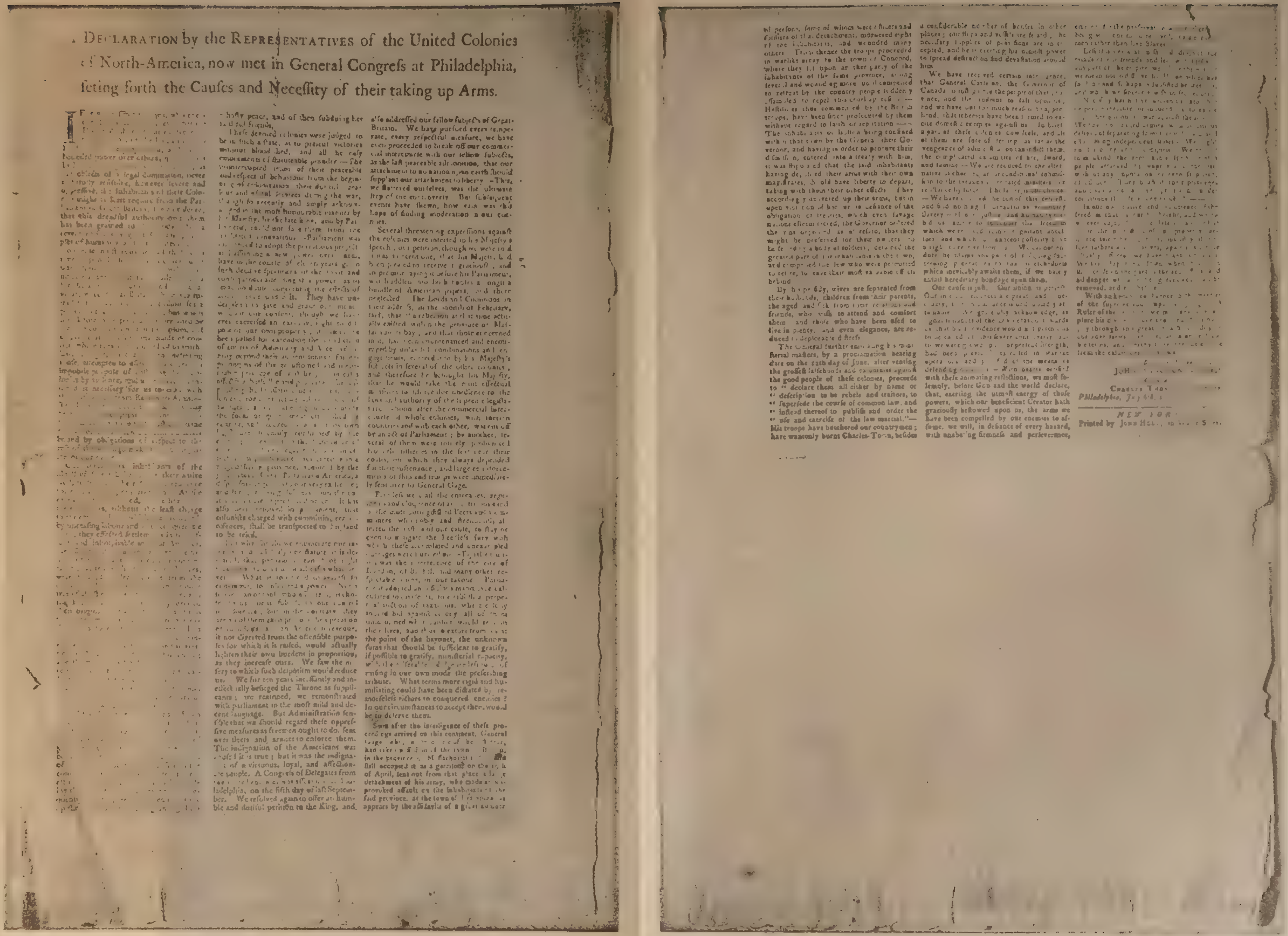
1775 Boston, was too strong for those who hoped for reconciliation and was revised by John Dickinson. The declaration was a forcible review of the causes of the present unhappy struggle, joined to a reiteration of the position of the colonies and of their deliberate and solemn determination to persevere in the course that had been begun. "The arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves. . . . We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. . . . In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

The Olive Branch Petition

A petition to the king, also drawn by Dickinson, was reported on the nineteenth of June and agreed to on the fifth of July; the engrossed copy was signed by the members present on the eighth. It spoke of the king in warmly affectionate terms and wished for him the lasting glory of saving his country from the impending struggle; it insisted that the colonies had too tender a regard for England to desire anything inconsistent with her dignity or welfare; it assumed that the king was better than the ministers who were misdirecting him. "We therefore beseech your Majesty . . . to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful Colonists to the Throne, in pursuance of their common counsels, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that, in the meantime, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of

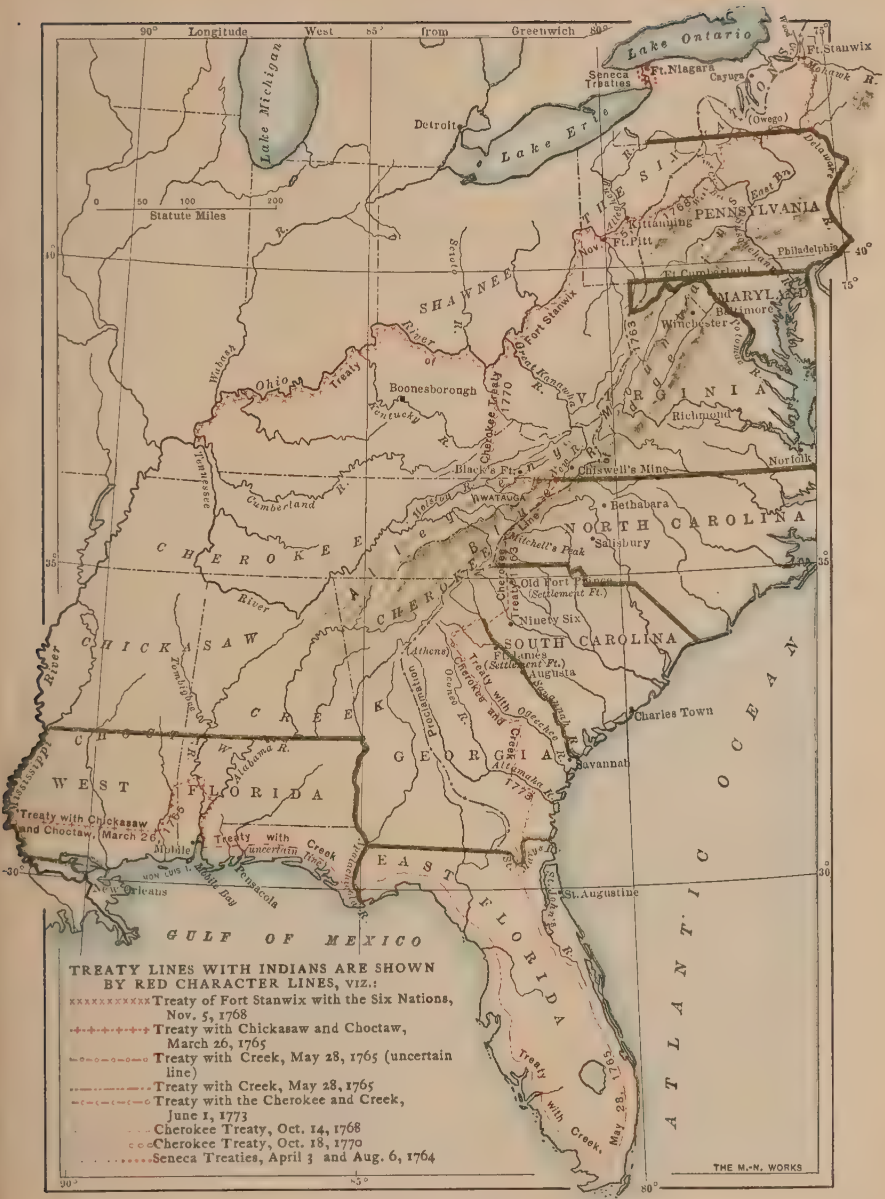


First Page of John Dickinson's Draft of the Declaration of July 6, 1775
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society



A Declaration by the Repreſentatives of the United Colonies of North-America, now met in General Congreſs at Philadelphia, ſeting forth the Cauſes and Neceſſity of their taking up Arms.

The Declaration of Congress, July 6, 1775, setting forth Reasons for taking up Arms
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society



MAP ILLUSTRATING RELATIONS OF COLONIES WITH THE INDIANS

(Prepared by David Maydole Matteson, A. M.)

1775 your Majesty's Colonies may be repealed." The petition was unsatisfactory to the members of the congress who thought independence inevitable. John Adams pronounced it a "measure of imbecility" and declared that it "embarrassed every exertion of Congress." Later, when the last hope of reconciliation had faded, loyalists pointed to the petition as a piece of characteristic dissimulation. General Gage spoke of its "fallacy, treachery, and deceit."

Resolute Preparation

Elaborate addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the assembly of Jamaica, and to the people of Ireland, and a letter to the mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, all of them fervent appeals for sympathy and support, were adopted and sent on their way. A committee for Indian affairs was early appointed, and, on the first of July, it was voted that, if the British instigated any Indian hostilities, an alliance ought to be made with such tribes as will enter into it. In the war that followed, both parties made use of Indians, but the first step was taken by the Americans. An elaborate "talk" to be delivered to the Six Nations was also framed. The Indian country was divided into three departments and a board of commissioners placed in charge of each. Soon after the choice of Washington as commander-in-chief, articles of war were adopted. An army hospital was established, with Doctor Benjamin Church of Boston as director. The details of military preparation fill many pages of the journal. The non-importation agreement was modified to permit vessels bringing in gunpowder, saltpeter, or sulphur, to export colonial products to the value of such articles imported, and the committees of the several provinces were recommended "to inspect the military stores so imported, and to estimate a generous price for the same, according to their goodness."

Franklin Proposes a Perpetual Union

Immediately upon his return from England, Franklin had been chosen a delegate to the congress from Pennsylvania. From the first, he had been a leading member, serving actively on important committees and putting his wide experience of men and affairs at the disposal of his colleagues. According to John Adams, he had been "composed and grave," and "very reserved." "He does not hesitate at our boldest measures, but rather seems to think us too irresolute and backward." He now proposed a union under the name of "The United Colonies of North America," and, on the twenty-first of July, laid before the congress certain "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." The government was to be a confederacy, under which each colony was to retain "as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and jurisdictions within its own limits." There was to be an annual congress of delegates, meeting in the colonies in rotation, with the power of legislating on war and peace and on certain other matters of common concern. A treasury supplied by proportionate contributions from the colonies was to defray the national charges. An executive council of twelve to serve during the recess of congress was also provided for. One article contemplated "a perpetual alliance offensive and defensive" with the Six Nations. From the standpoint of the constitution of 1787, this plan seems halting and suggests that Franklin's strength lay in diplomacy rather than in the field of constructive statesmanship. Be that as it may, neither congress nor the country was ready for a step that would make reconciliation impossible, and the plan was laid aside without action.

Congress Considers the Conciliatory Resolution

On the twenty-sixth of May, congress received a communication from the New Jersey assembly, transmitting a copy of Lord North's conciliatory resolution, approved by the house of commons on the twenty-seventh of February; it will be remembered that, on the third of March, Lord Dartmouth had sent a circular letter to the colonial governors urging its acceptance. Subsequently, other copies of the resolution were sent up by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia. On the thirtieth of May, a memorandum in behalf of the resolution, prepared at the request of Lord North by Mr. Grey Cooper, under-secretary of the treasury, was also submitted. The resolution lay before the congress without

1775 action until the twenty-second of July, by which time the declaration of causes and the petition to the king had been disposed of, a commander-in-chief selected, and military preparation organized. On that day, the resolution was referred to a committee consisting of Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams, and Richard Henry Lee. The Virginia house of burgesses had already, on the tenth, adopted a report on the same resolution. The report of Franklin's committee, drawn by Jefferson, was to the same effect, and was approved by congress on the thirty-first.

Report of the Committee

The tone of the reply was uncompromising and even haughty. The proposition was declared to be unreasonable and insidious; "unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare, without reservation, we will purchase the favour of Parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour. It is insidious because individual Colonies, having bid and bidden again till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister Colonies, whom the Minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer. . . . A proposition to give our money, accompanied with large fleets and armies, seems addressed to our fears rather than to our freedom. . . . If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the Empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with the whole world. . . . We conceive that the British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil Government or administration of justice. . . . We do not mean that our people shall be burdened with oppressive taxes, to provide sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under color of providing for a civil list. While Parliament pursue their plan of civil Government within their own jurisdiction, we also hope to pursue ours without molestation."

A Recess

With this bold assertion of contempt for Lord North's proposal and of a fixed purpose to have nothing to do

1775

with it, the congress, on the first day of August, took a recess until the fifth of September. The session had been a laborious and memorable one. The scattered and unorganized resistance of the colonies had been given form and direction. Although elementary and partial, a central government had been established. The colonies, dependencies of Great Britain, had by a common impulse turned to the congress for advice, and, in the matter of the pending dispute with the mother country, the congress had assumed to speak for the colonies. By sending Lord North's resolution to the congress instead of acting upon it itself, the New Jersey assembly set a precedent that the other colonies were not slow to follow. Unless something unforeseen happened, parliament and the king must deal, not with separate provinces, but with a congress of the united colonies.

Petition and Proclamation

The petition, signed by the members of the congress on the eighth of July, was given to Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and therefore bound by interest to loyalty, to be laid before the king. Penn at once set sail and was in London by the middle of August. Parliament had been prorogued on the twenty-sixth of May. Undeterred by the reception of their former remonstrance, the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London had again addressed the throne, praying that the use of force against the colonies might be suspended. To them the king replied that "while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted . . . I owe it to the rest of my people . . . to continue to enforce those measures by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained." The news of the battle at Bunker Hill and of the proceedings of the congress at Philadelphia fixed the determination of the king; and, on the twenty-third of August, the day on which the petition was to have been delivered to Lord

July 14

Richd Penn

Autograph of Richard Penn

1775 Dartmouth, a royal proclamation was issued declaring the colonies to be in "open and avowed rebellion," and calling upon all officers and loyal subjects to use every effort to suppress the outbreak and "to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abetters of such traitorous designs." On the twenty-ninth, the proclamation was publicly read in the palace yard, Westminster, at Temple Bar, and at the Royal Exchange. At the latter place, which was under the immediate jurisdiction of the lord mayor, the use of horses for the officers, usual on such occasions, was refused, the mace was not suffered to be carried, and hisses followed the reading. Notwithstanding the proclamation, the petition was presented to Lord Dartmouth but the colonial representatives were refused an audience with the king and were finally informed that the petition would not be considered and that no answer would be given.

September 1

King *versus* Congress

The proclamation was the natural outcome of the policy that the king and his ministers had been pursuing and of the advice to which, from the first, they had listened. General Haldimand, fresh from America, had reported that "nothing but force could bring the colonies to reason," and the king was convinced that it would be better "totally to abandon" the colonies than "to admit a single shadow" of their claims. Instructions sent to General Howe declared that there was "no room left for any other consideration but that of proceeding against the twelve associated colonies in all respects with the utmost rigor, as the open and avowed enemies of the state." As for the continental congress, the "olive branch" petition was its last offer of conciliation. Franklin, in a letter subsequently read in the house of commons, stated the case concisely when he said: "If you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the Country. The Congress . . . will wait the result of their *last* Petition."

The Effect of the Proclamation

Frothingham tells us that what royal instructions were to the organization of the popular party, what the tea act was to American union, what the Massachusetts government act was to association, the proclamation was to revolution. "Then the inspiring sentiment of union became identified with the still more inspiring sentiment of nationality. Then the popular leaders recognized the mission of that generation to found a republic. The thought lifted them up to the heights of their cause, strengthening their convictions of its justice, deepening the faith that they were co-workers with Providence, and investing their action with the highest moral dignity." George III. meant, perhaps, only to be stern, but he "unwittingly became father of a country that disclaimed him. He deserves to be commemorated in statue, portrait, and history for his unintended yet genuine paternity." In private conversation, Samuel Adams said that, if the second petition to the king were neglected or rejected, he should be in favor of fitting out privateers and taking British ships anywhere. James Warren more accurately reflected public sentiment when he wrote to Samuel Adams in Philadelphia: "The king's silly proclamation will put an end to petitioning; movements worthy your august body are expected—a declaration of independence and treaties with foreign powers." Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John: "I could not join to-day in the petitions of our worthy pastor for a reconciliation between our no longer parent state, but tyrant state, and these colonies. Let us separate."

September 24

November 12

Still Seeking Redress—Not Separation

Yet, in spite of such individual utterances and of armed rebellion actually existing, there was great unwillingness to break away from the empire. The professions of the patriots that they were seeking only redress of grievances were as sincere as they were profuse. When at Runnymede the barons wrested magna charta from King John, they meant not to renounce their allegiance. "So the popular leaders, in their attitude of armed resistance, were loyal to what they conceived to be essential to American liberty. They were asserting the majesty of constitutional law against those who would have destroyed it, and thus were more loyal to the constitution than was George III."

CHAPTER XVII

BELEAGUERED BOSTON

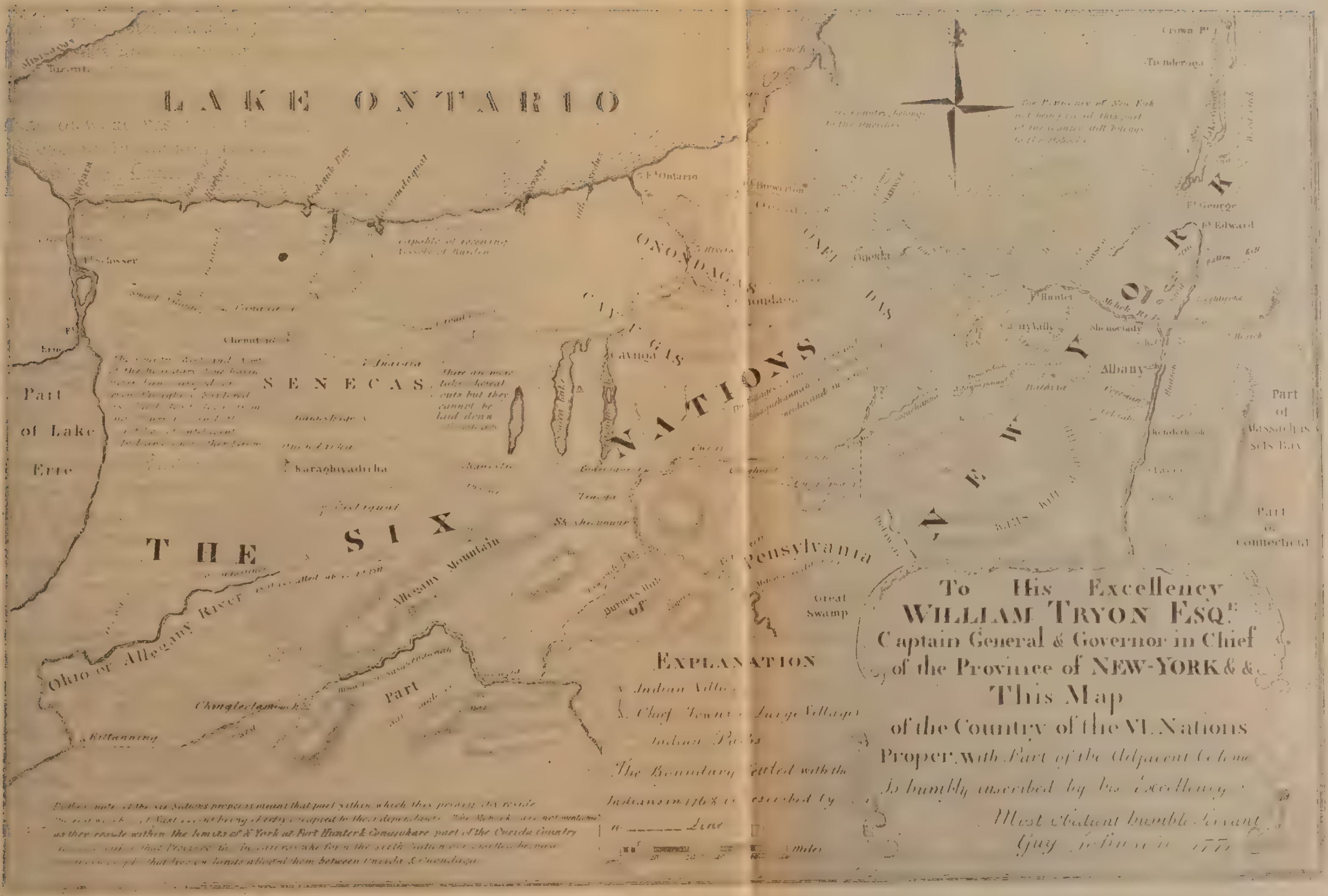
After the Battle

BY sundown of Saturday, the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, the provincial troops had been withdrawn, but the British cannonade continued until the afternoon of Sunday. General Gage issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to surrender their arms and General Howe fortified Bunker Hill. Meantime, the Americans were not idle. Nearly four thousand men occupied the intrenchments that Putnam planted on Prospect Hill, New Hampshire troops fortified and garrisoned Winter Hill, and a line of earthworks was completed from Cambridge to the Mystic. Similar defenses were planted on the hills of Roxbury and a few heavy cannons were placed. Every day brought reinforcements; among the arrivals was a company of Stockbridge Indians.

Good Lord, Good Devil

June 25, 1775

Accompanied by Gates and Lee, Washington set out for Boston. A few hours after leaving Philadelphia, he received the news of the battle of Bunker Hill and rejoiced at the stand made by the men whom he was to command. On Sunday, he arrived at New York where he received an address and other courtesies from the authorities. A few hours later, the honors were repeated for Tryon, the royal governor of the province, as he landed on his return from a visit to England, a prudent performance that has not escaped notice. The province, indeed, was torn by conflicting interests and it was known that "some violent wrenching would be necessary to



Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations

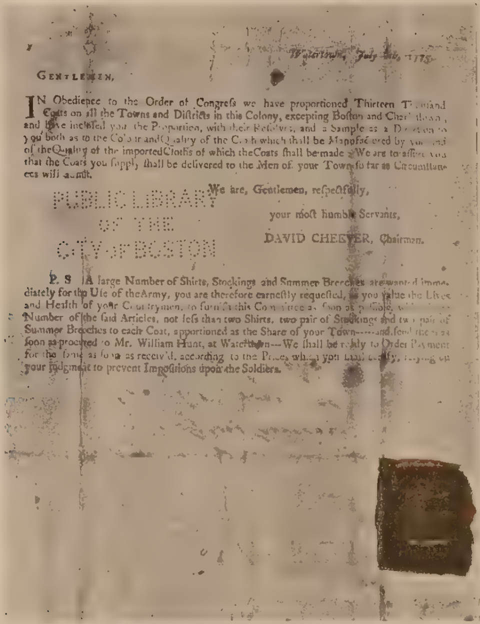
unloose the grasp which the loyalists had upon it." Sir William Johnson, the widely influential superintendent of Indian affairs, had died in July, 1774, but Guy Johnson, his nephew and successor, was as staunch a loyalist as the uncle had been.

Washington Takes Command

Washington instructed General Schuyler, who was in command of what was called the northern department, to keep an eye on Tryon and Johnson; on the twenty-sixth, he set out for Cambridge. At the direction of the Massachusetts provincial congress, a committee met him at Springfield and escorted him to headquarters. He received a congratulatory address at Watertown, whence he proceeded to the house of Samuel Langdon, an ardent patriot who had been recently elected president of Harvard College. The finest house in Cambridge, later the home of Longfellow, had been abandoned by its Tory owner and was placed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief. On the third of July, under an elm that is still standing, Washington took command of the American army of fifteen thousand men. July 2

The Resumption of the Massachusetts Charter

At the time of Washington's arrival at Cambridge, the continental congress that had recently adopted the army had no authority except such as rested on the acquiescence of the people. Only two of the colonies had preserved their charter governments; in the others, nothing better than provisional administrations were in operation. Even the provincial congress of Massachusetts had uncertain powers and New Hampshire troops were in camp near Boston in spite of Sir John Wentworth, the royal governor. From this "administrative chaos" Massachusetts was the first to emerge. In July, she accepted, in a spirit of submission, the advice for which her provincial congress had, in June, appealed to the continental congress, namely to reorganize her government according to her irrevocable constitution "until a governor of His Majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter." In familiar fashion, her people gathered in town-meetings and elected members of a representative assembly which, in turn, July



Watertown, July [illegible], 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

IN Obedience to the Order of Congreſs we have proportioned Thirteen Thouſand Coats on all the Towns and Diſtricts in this Colony, excepting Boſton and Charleſtown, and have incloſed you the Proportion, with their Reſolves, and a Sample as a Direction to you both as to the Colour and Quality of the Cloth which ſhall be Manufactured by you and of the Quality of the imported Cloths of which the Coats ſhall be made. We are to aſſure you that the Coats you ſupply ſhall be delivered to the Men of your Town ſo far as Circumſtances will admit.

We are, Gentlemen, reſpectfully,
your moſt humble Servants,
DAVID CHEEVER, Chairman.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

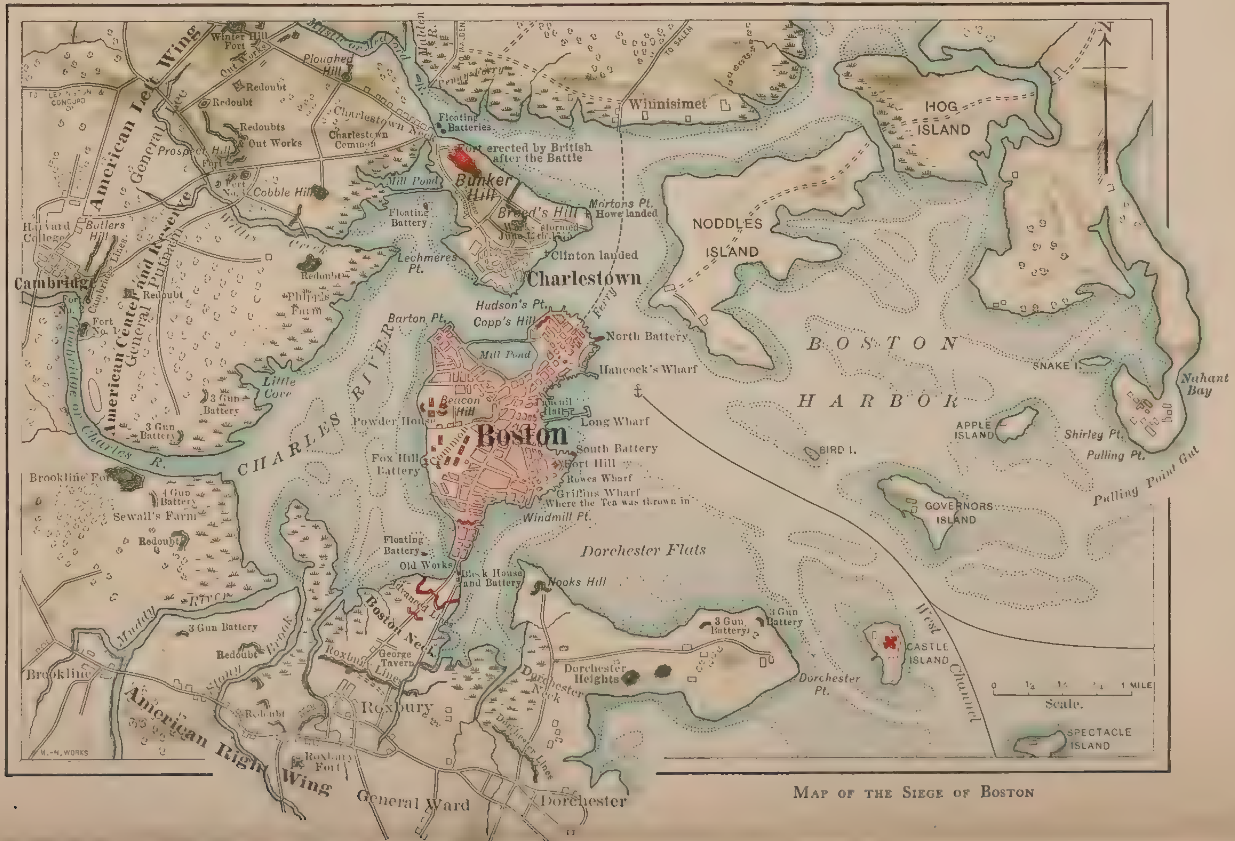
P. S. A large Number of Shirts, Stockings and Summer Breeches are wanted immediately for the Uſe of the Army, you are therefore earneſtly requeſted, as you value the Lives and Health of your Countrymen, to furniſh this Committee as ſoon as poſſible, with [illegible] Number of the ſaid Articles, not leſs than two Shirts, two pair of Stockings and two pair of Summer Breeches to each Coat, apportioned as the Share of your Town——and ſend the ſame as ſoon as procured to Mr. William Hunt, at Watertown——We ſhall be ready to Order Payment for the ſame as ſoon as receiv'd, according to the Prices which you ſhall certify, depending on your Judgment to prevent Impoſitions upon the Soldiers.

Order for Coats, with Sample of Cloth

chose a council of twenty-eight members to sit as the upper house in the new general court. As president of the council, James Bowdoin became the chief executive.

Organizing the Army

Washington promptly set to work to organize the army, rectify the lines, and collect powder, provisions, and supplies. The independent spirit of New England farmers was not favorable to military subordination and discipline was conspicuous by its absence. Washington held his first council of war on the ninth of July, and, on the following day, wrote his first letter to congress describing conditions about Boston. The council had estimated the number of British soldiers, sailors, and marines at Boston at eleven thousand five hundred, and the number needed to defend the American lines at twenty-two thousand. The lines extended from Charlestown Neck on the left to Boston Neck on the right, and were cut by the Charles River across which there was but a single bridge. An attack upon either end of the line might overwhelm the ill-organized and poorly equipped army of patriots, although the minutemen of the neighboring towns were a reserve to be reckoned with. But



Map of the Siege of Boston

1775 the British loss at Bunker Hill and the unexpected resistance of the Americans made the enemy cautious and the dreaded movement from Boston was not attempted.

In Boston July 16 The condition of the inhabitants of Boston was acute. "Their beef is all spent," wrote Mrs. Adams, "their malt and cider all gone. All the fresh provisions they can procure, they are obliged to give to the sick and wounded. . . . No man dared now to be seen talking to his friend in the street. They were obliged to be within, every evening, at ten o'clock, according to martial law; nor could any inhabitant walk any street in town after that time, without a pass from Gage. He has ordered all the molasses to be distilled up into rum for the soldiers." So great were the difficulties of subsistence that eventually General Gage had to consent to the departure of many of the inhabitants.

Meantime, the continental army was growing in size and efficiency. In the first six weeks of Washington's command, there was an increase of nearly twenty-four hundred. Among the recruits were Captain Daniel Morgan's riflemen from Virginia. If the discipline of the New England troops had been a disappointment to Washington, the appearance of Morgan's men was not less so to General Thomas who thought and said that "the army would be as well off without them." The fringed hunting-shirts of the Virginians provoked the mirth of the New Englanders, and, on one occasion, the men came to blows. Hearing of the disturbance, Washington mounted his horse, rode post-haste to the scene of disturbance, "threw the bridle of his horse into his servant's hands, and, rushing into the thickest

Morgan's Virginia Rifleman

1775

of the fight, seized two tall, brawny riflemen by the throat," and, in rough-and-ready fashion, put an end to the fighting. Notwithstanding their uncouth appearance, Morgan's men were wonderful sharpshooters and soon won the respect of both enemies and friends.

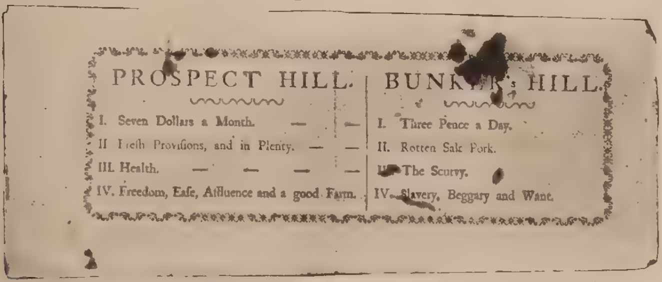
Wax Impression of Washington's Seal

The Americans are Short of Powder

In all the thirteen colonies there was hardly enough powder for one general engagement, and even the materials for its manufacture could be had only in small quantities. Washington tried to keep the alarming truth from the public and from even his brigade commanders. So little did congress understand the situation that, while Washington hardly dared to fire a salute because it would waste his powder, Richard Henry Lee was urging him from Philadelphia to plant batteries at the entrance of Boston harbor and to keep the enemy's vessels from going in and out.

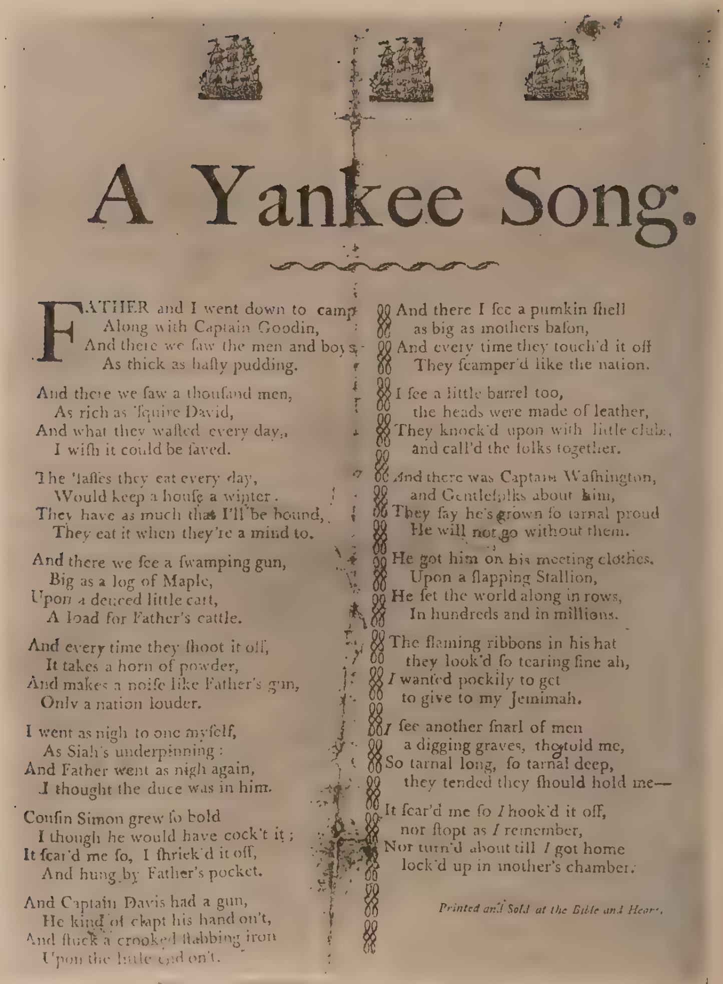
The British are Short of Rations

At the same time, Gage was doing the best he could to keep his men from deserting. Reinforcements did not make good the loss by battle and disease. Food was scarce, although Washington complained that vessels laden with provisions cleared from New York for the West Indies and made port at Boston. Meat was an expensive luxury, and a camp-song of the day ran:



PROSPECT HILL.	BUNKER's HILL.
I. Seven Dollars a Month.	I. Three Pence a Day.
II Freſh Proviſions, and in Plenty.	II. Rotten Salt Pork.
III. Health.	III. The Scurvy.
IV. Freedom, Eaſe, Affluence and a good Farm.	IV. Slavery, Beggary and Want.

Handbill printed for Distribution among the Royal Troops to induce Desertion



A Yankee Song.

FATHER and I went down to camp
  Along with Captain Goodin,
And there we ſaw the men and boys
  As thick as haſty pudding.

And there we ſaw a thouſand men,
  As rich as 'ſquire David,
And what they waſted every day,
  I wiſh it could be ſaved.

The 'laſſes they eat every day,
  Would keep a houſe a winter.
They have as much that I'll be bound,
  They eat it when they're a mind to.

And there we ſee a ſwamping gun,
  Big as a log of Maple,
Upon a deuced little cart,
  A load for Father's cattle.

And every time they ſhoot it off,
  It takes a horn of powder,
And makes a noiſe like Father's gun,
  Only a nation louder.

I went as nigh to one myſelf,
  As Siah's underpinning:
And Father went as nigh again,
  I thought the duce was in him.

Couſin Simon grew ſo bold
  I though he would have cock't it;
It ſcar'd me ſo, I ſhriek'd it off,
  And hung by Father's pocket.

And Captain Davis had a gun,
  He kind of clapt his hand on't,
And ſtuck a crooked ſtabbing iron
  Upon the little end on't.

And there I ſee a pumkin ſhell
  as big as mothers baſon,
And every time they touch'd it off
  They ſcamper'd like the nation.

I ſee a little barrel too,
  the heads were made of leather,
They knock'd upon with little clubs,
  and call'd the folks together.

And there was Captain Waſhington,
  and Gentlefolks about him,
They ſay he's grown ſo tarnal proud
  He will not go without them.

He got him on his meeting clothes,
  Upon a ſlapping Stallion,
He ſet the world along in rows,
  In hundreds and in millions.

The flaming ribbons in his hat
  they look'd ſo tearing fine ah,
I wanted pockily to get
  to give to my Jemimah.

I ſee another ſnarl of men
  a digging graves, they told me,
So tarnal long, ſo tarnal deep,
  they tended they ſhould hold me—

It ſcar'd me ſo *I* hook'd it off,
  nor ſtopt as *I* remember,
Nor turn'd about till *I* got home
  lock'd up in mother's chamber.

Printed and Sold at the Bible and Heart.

The "Yankee Doodle" Ballad of the Revolution

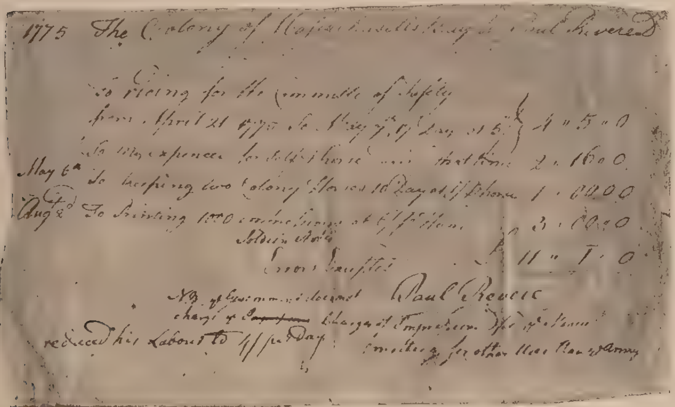
> And what have you got now with all your designing,
> But a town without victuals to sit down and dine in;
> And to look on the ground like a parcel of noodles,
> And sing how the Yankees have beaten the Doodles?

1775

In July, there was some correspondence between Burgoyne and Lee, but Lee sent Burgoyne's letter to the provincial congress and declined the invitation to a conference at "The George" inn on Boston Neck. In August, letters passed between Washington and Gage regarding the treatment of prisoners. Burgoyne was chafing under Gage's inactivity, describing the latter as "amiable for his virtues but not equal to the situation" and complaining to the ministry of his "being invested on one side and asleep on the other."

Treasonable Correspondence

In October, the accidental discovery of a cipher letter written by Doctor Benjamin Church, director of the hospital service, led to his arrest. On the twenty-seventh, he was examined before the Massachusetts general court of which he was a member. He denied any treasonable conduct and "made the most solemn appeal to heaven that the letter was written with the design of procuring some important intelligence," but the court voted him guilty and expelled him from his seat. In November, the continental congress, to which the case was referred,



1775 The Colony of Massachusetts Bay to Paul Revere Dr

To Riding for the Committee of Safety
from April 21 1775 to May 7, 17 Days at 5/ } 4 . 5 . 0
To my expences for self & horse [illegible] that time 2 . 16 . 0
May 6th To keeping two Colony Horses 10 Days at 1/ horse 1 . 00 . 0
Aug 2d To Printing 1000 [illegible] at 6/ per thou 3 . 00 . 0
[illegible]
Errors Excepted 11 . 1 . 0

N.B. [illegible] Paul Revere
charge [illegible] Charge of Expresses [illegible]
reduced his Labour to 4/ per Day [illegible]

Paul Revere's Bill for Services to Massachusetts from April 21 to May 7, 1775

November 2

1775 ordered that he "be close confined in some secure gaol in the colony of Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink, and paper." In the following spring, he was released and allowed to sail for the West Indies; the ship was never heard of again. His successor as head of the hospital service was Doctor John Morgan of Philadelphia.

The Lexington of the Seas

Early in May, the British war-ship "Falcon" captured two provincial sloops, but the people at Buzzards Bay fitted out an expedition and retook both vessels with the fifteen men on board. In June, the British armed cutter "Margaretta," Lieutenant Moore, was sent to Machias, Maine, to secure lumber needed for barracks for the troops at Boston. There was delay until about forty men, under the lead of Jeremiah O'Brien, seized a sloop with the purpose of capturing the cutter. Their equipment of warfare seems to have been limited to twenty guns, many of them mere fowling-pieces, and "thirteen pitchforks, a few scythes, and ten or twelve axes." In maneuvering to avoid a collision, the "Margaretta" lost her boom and gaff. Moore then ran his June 12 vessel into a bay and, "taking a spar and all the provisions, together with Robert Avery of Norwich, Connecticut, out of a craft he met coming in from the Bay of Fundy, repaired his injury." As the Americans were gaining upon him, Moore opened fire and did some damage. But "the two crafts quickly came together when a sharp fire of small arms was opened. Moore made a gallant defense, . . . until he was shot through the breast with a brace of musket balls. The unfortunate Mr. Avery was also killed." Then the Americans boarded the cutter and obtained possession of her, the action having lasted "for near the space of an hour." The loss on the "Margaretta" was four killed and about ten wounded; the American loss was one killed and six wounded. The "Margaretta" was brought into port and the Machias committee of safety wrote: "We purpose to convey the prisoners to Pownalborough Gaol as soon as possible."

As a matter of fact, war had been begun on the sea as

Washington's Flotilla

well as on the land, and some of the seaboard colonies fitted out cruisers at their own expense, authorized privateers, and established prize-courts. Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, with the transferred armament of the "Margaretta," was soon busily engaged, under a commission from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, in cutting off ships that were carrying supplies for the British troops in Boston. Without waiting for the continental congress to take its first official step toward the formation of a continental navy, Washington issued commissions to the commanders of several small vessels and instructed them to cruise in or near Massachusetts Bay and, if possible, to intercept incoming British store-ships. Six such vessels, the "Hancock," the "Lee," the "Franklin," the "Harrison," the "Lynch," and the "Warren" were soon in active service, the first to sail with authority to cruise in behalf of the united colonies. In November, the "Lee" captured the brigantine "Nancy" just from London with an acceptable supply of military stores, among which were invoiced two thousand muskets, one hundred and five thousand flints, three thousand round shot for 12-pounders, four thousand round shot for 6-pounders, thirty-one tons of musket shot, and sixty reams of cartridge paper. In the same month, Peter Oliver wrote from Boston: "The pirates, or as the rebels term them, the privateers, have taken a Cork vessel, Captain Robbins of this town, with provisions, and carried her into Marblehead; and a number of wood vessels from the eastward are carried into the worthless town of Plymouth." The naval situation, however, was not satisfactory to either side. Washington wrote from Cambridge that "our privateersmen go on at the old rate,—mutinying if they cannot do as they please;" while Oliver wrote from Boston that "we have eight or ten pirate vessels out between the capes; and yet our men-of-war are chiefly in the harbor."

Gage Recalled

As the summer wore away, the spirits of the British in Boston rose appreciably; food was less scarce, and plans were made for quartering troops in private houses and for

1775 weekly plays in Faneuil Hall. In September, Gage received his recall. His irritating and inefficient handling of the situation in general, and his disastrous performance at Bunker Hill in particular, had lost him the confidence of the king. Although the recall was kindly worded and set forth that the ministry desired him near at hand for counsel, he was really recalled in disgrace; no other command was ever offered him. On the tenth of October, he issued his last order and turned over his command to Howe, a much abler officer. Could Howe have had his way, he would have evacuated Boston and chosen a better base of operations, but he was compelled to stay and fight a losing battle.

Falmouth is Burned

About this time, Admiral Graves sent Captain Mowatt with a small fleet to destroy Cape Ann (Gloucester) and Falmouth (Portland). Mowatt, who had been seized at Falmouth by the provincial troops soon after the battle of Lexington, had not forgotten his treatment and now wreaked his vengeance on the town. When the people refused to give up their arms and ammunition, Mowatt burned a hundred and fifty houses, including all the churches and public buildings. Howe threw the responsibility on the admiral; the English historian Mahon calls it "a wanton and cruel deed." Hitherto there had been in the minds of many a lingering idea that Boston only was to be punished and that the war would be confined to Massachusetts Bay. The Falmouth incident went far to destroy that illusion; the destruction of the defenseless town showed that war was to be waged without mercy and that America, not Boston, was to be subdued.

October 17

Howe in Command

Howe's activity was not much greater than that of Gage, perhaps because he agreed with his predecessor that Boston was a "disadvantageous place for all operations." Howe felt that New York would make a better base for military operations. There, he said, "the foundations of the war should be laid" by gathering, under the protection of fortifications, the main body of troops with ample magazines and stores. As he had not sufficient transportation, he wrote to Dartmouth in November that he must stay where he was for the winter; as Castle William was of no use to him, he had mined the fort so that it might be destroyed when Boston was evacuated. The fort at Bunker Hill, commanded by Clinton, was pushed toward completion and the fortification of Boston Neck was continued. With these exceptions, the British remained inactive within their lines. Their fleet was of little use save to protect the town from attack by sea, and the American privateers continued to intercept supplies sent from England and Ireland for the British army.

Preparations for Winter

Winter was coming on, fuel was scarce, and barracks were difficult to find. Even the churches were invaded; the West Church was taken for barracks, the Old South turned into a riding-school, and the Old North plundered for fuel. At the end of October, Howe issued proclamations threatening with death and forfeiture of goods any who should leave the town without written permission, forbidding any one from carrying away any more than five pounds in specie, and organizing loyalist battalions "to preserve order and good government." Ruggles, now an open and avowed loyalist, was put in command of this home-guard. Before winter set in, Burgoyne returned to England. Reinforcements were expected from Ireland, but Howe urged the ministry to send Hessian mercenaries instead of "Irish Roman Catholics, sure to desert if put to hard work, and, from their ignorance of arms, not entitled to the smallest confidence as soldiers."

Lee at Newport

On the southern New England coast there were more signs of activity. The British frigate "Rose" and other vessels were particularly annoying. Newport was forced to supply the ships with fresh provisions, Bristol was bombarded, troops were landed, houses were burned, and the people plundered. Governor Cooke of Rhode Island ordered out the minutemen and called on Washington for help. The expiration of the term of enlistment of the Connecticut troops was threatening to reduce

1775 the American army, but Washington sent General Lee with eight hundred men to Newport. Lee gave protection to the patriots in that region and made the Tories swear, by "the tremendous and Almighty God," that they would "not assist the wicked instruments of ministerial tyranny and villany, commonly called the king's troops." Washington sent a copy of the oath to Hancock as a sample of Lee's "abilities in that way," and, on the fifteenth of November, suggested to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that it would be "prudent to seize on those Tories who have been, are, and that we know will be active against us."

The New Establishment Even at that early day there were editors and statesmen of the "On to Richmond" order, and even the continental congress, again in session at Philadelphia, was urging an attack on Boston "to break up the nest there." On the eighteenth of October, a council of the general officers decided that such an attack was impracticable. Few of the soldiers had enlisted for longer than the current year and "new enlistments halted upon the expiration of the old." A congressional committee came from Philadelphia to Cambridge and had an opportunity to learn something of the perplexities that environed the commanding general. The attempt to create a continental army in which colonial lines should not be drawn proved extremely difficult, and the abolition of the old colonial systems of organization, with regiments large and small and officers with and without experience, gave rise to no end of trouble and delay. Still, an army was disbanded and another was recruited in the face of an enemy of equal or superior numbers — the greatest success of that whole winter. The men enlisted slowly on the "new establishment," in most cases, for the war. As far as possible, unsatisfactory officers of the lower grades were dropped. Some of the Connecticut and Rhode Island troops refused to reënlist, but fresh supplies from Massachusetts and New Hampshire made good the loss. An idea of what went on may be gathered from an entry in the diary of Nathan Hale: "Promised the men, if

1775

they would tarry another month, they should have my wages for that time." Having given his own pay to his men, the Connecticut schoolmaster, not yet of age, borrowed from Captain Leavenworth enough money to take him home, giving in return an order for his pay until January. Before the end of January, the boy captain reported at the headquarters of General Ward, at Roxbury, with recruits who had agreed to serve to the end of the war.

Nathan Hale Schoolhouse

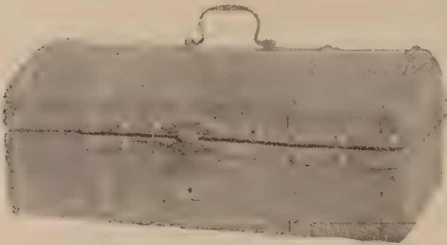
Henry Knox

Early in 1775, Richard Gridley, who was chief of artillery under Pepperrell at Louisburg in 1745, had been appointed by the Massachusetts provincial congress as chief engineer in the army then being organized. On the sixteenth of June, he had laid out the lines of the redoubt and breastworks on Breed's Hill. On the twentieth of September, he had been commissioned to take command of the artillery of the continental army. But he now was getting old and Washington wrote to the president of congress: "The council of officers are unanimously of opinion that the command of the artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley; and knowing of no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry

November 8

Nathan Hale's Powder-horn

1775 Knox, Esq., to the consideration of Congress." Knox was a young Boston bookseller who, in early life, had joined a volunteer artillery organization, and had made a careful study of military science. In accordance with the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, congress commissioned Knox. Thus "the Boston bookseller suddenly became, not only a colonel, but the head of an arm of the service requiring the most thorough and practical knowledge of military science." He justified the wisdom of Washington's choice; during the war, he was one of his general's constant companions; from this period, the two were lifelong, affectionate friends.


John Hancock's Money Trunk

November 17

Congress Authorizes the Destruction of Boston

The siege continued throughout the winter, though without active hostilities on either side. Many of Washington's soldiers were given furloughs that they might make provision for their families. On the whole, while the new year showed a decline in numbers, it found the American army with improved organization and equipment. Howe continued to be apprehensive. When the "Lee" captured the "Nancy," Howe wrote to Dartmouth that "the circumstance is unfortunate, as it puts in the enemy's hands the means of setting the town on fire." In fact, the patriots had considered the destruction of the beleaguered town and the continental congress had authorized an attack, "notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed." Hancock wrote to Washington: "You will notice the resolution relative to an attack on Boston. This passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house, and the execution was referred to you. May God crown your attempt with success! I most heartily wish it, though individually, I may be the greatest sufferer." Some time pre-

December 22

viously, John Adams had written to Mrs. Mercy Warren that "Mrs. Washington was going to Cambridge, and he hoped she might prove to have ambition enough for her husband's glory to give occasion to the Lord to have mercy on the souls of Howe and Burgoyne!" As the year closed, Admiral Graves was relieved by Admiral Shuldham. Earl Percy wrote from Boston: "We wanted a more active man than the last, for really the service suffered materially during his stay."

New Year's Day, '76

On the first day of the memorable new year, the union flag of thirteen stripes of alternate red and white with the united crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew was unfurled in the camp of the newly created continental army, "in compliment to the United Colonies." Hitherto, the British standard had been adapted for use by inscribing thereon "Liberty and Union" or some other appropriate legend, or the troops had marched under their colony flags; the pine-tree flag of Massachusetts had been prominent on the floating batteries and on some of the colonial vessels. On the same day, copies of the king's speech opening parliament were received from General Howe. "He breathes revenge, and threatens us with destruction," wrote General Greene. In another letter, Greene urged "a declaration of independence" and called "upon the world and the great God who governs it, to witness the necessity, propriety, and rectitude thereof." "Such was American resolution when it was proclaimed that the Cossack and the Hessian were to be hired to crush American liberty."

January 4

From Serious to Gay

As early as June, 1775, and at the request of the continental congress, General Wooster had led Connecticut troops to the vicinity of New York to resist any attempt to land troops from British ships if such an attempt should be made. Early in January, 1776, Washington learned that Clinton was about to sail from Boston on a southern expedition—perhaps against New York which he already had made up his mind to occupy. Lee was sent into Connecticut to raise troops for the occupation of that city. About this time, Knowlton, sent on a raid

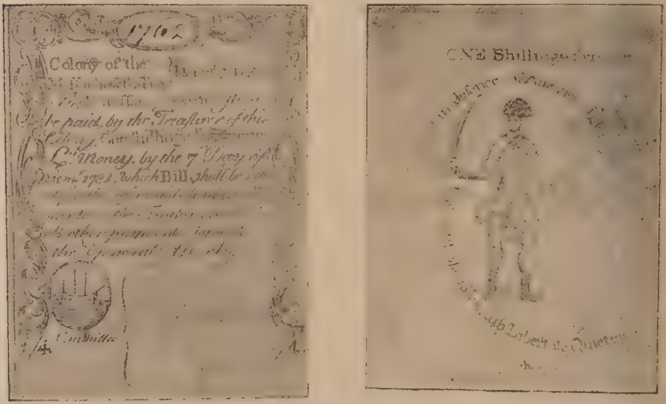
1776 January 8

across Charlestown Neck, burned the bakery of the British troops on the peninsula. That evening, a Boston audience at Faneuil Hall was enjoying a little farce written by Burgoyne and entitled *The Boston Blockade.* During the performance of the play, a sergeant hurried on the stage and announced that the Yankees were on Bunker Hill. Thinking that the sergeant and his story were parts of the play, the merry audience was much delighted. But Howe soon sent for his officers and the playhouse was deserted as it became known that it was Knowlton and not a "vaudevil" joke.

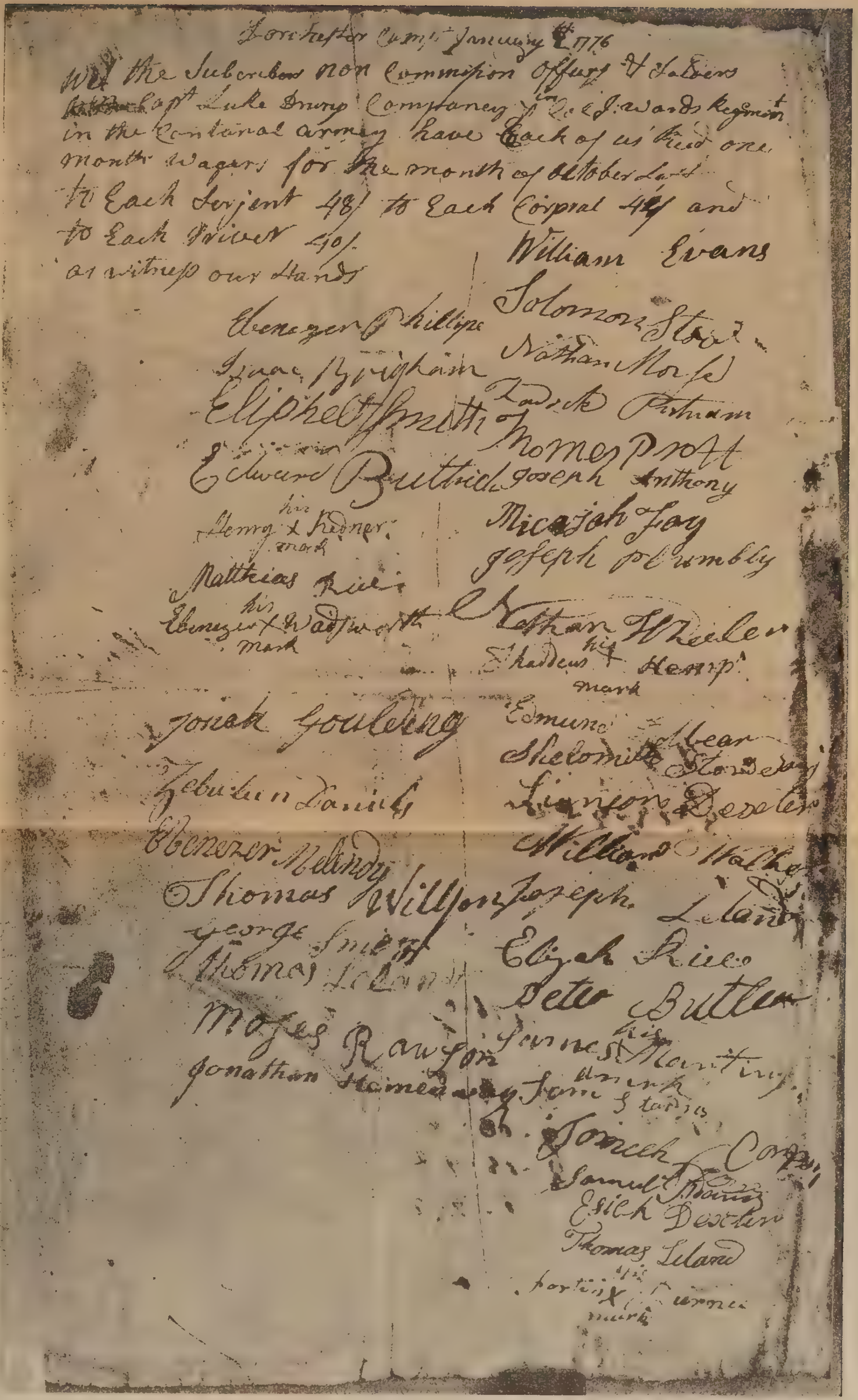
The Proposed Attack on Boston

January 4

By this time, the army was weaker than it had been since the siege began and Washington found his position very precarious. "Search the vast volumes of history through," he wrote, "and I much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; to wit, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without [powder], and at the end of them to have one army disbanded and another to raise within the same distance of a reinforced enemy. It is too much to attempt." Nevertheless, congress had authorized an attack on Boston and the country was expecting prompt action. On the sixteenth of January,



Massachusetts Bay Currency, Issue of December 7, 1775



Dorchester Camp January 8th 1776

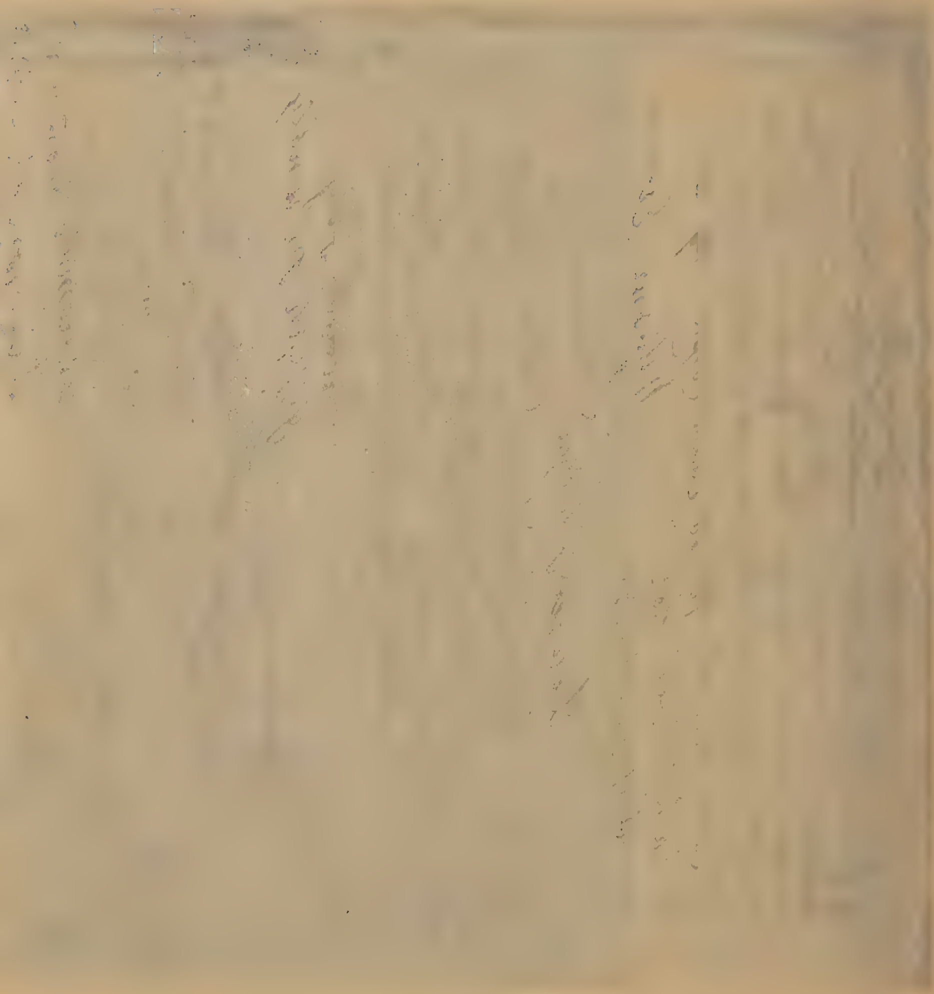
We the Subcribers Non Commision Offisers & Solders [illegible] Capt Luke Drury Company in Col Jo: Wards Regiment in the Continal army have Each of us Recd one months wages for the month of October Last to Each Serjent 48/ to Each Corpral 44/ and to Each Privet 40/
as witness our Hands

Ebenezer Phillips
Isaac Brigham
Eliphelet Smith
Edward Buttrick
Henry his X mark Kidner
Matthias Rice
Ebenezer his X mark Wadsworth
Josiah Goulding
Zebulun Daniels
Ebenezer Melendy
Thomas Willson
George Smith
Thomas Leland
Moses Rawson
Jonathan Hamenway

William Evans
Solomon Stow
Nathan Morse
Zadock Putnam
Thomas Pratt
Joseph Anthony
Micajah Fay
Joseph Plumbly
Nathan Wheeler
Thaddeus his X mark Henry
Edmund Mean
Shelomith Stoddard
Simeon Dexter
William Walker
Joseph Leland
Elijah Rice
Peter Butler
James his X mark Manning
[illegible] Stearns
Jonech Cory
Samuel [illegible]
Esick Dexter
Thomas Leland
Porter his X mark [illegible]

Soldiers' Receipt for Pay (Showing Privates' Ability to Write)

From original in the Boston Public Library



1776

he submitted the question to a council of war which unanimously agreed that an attack ought to be made soon, but that the force available was inadequate and that the commander-in-chief ought to make a requisition on Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut for thirteen regiments of militia for service during February and March. Washington acted upon this advice and congress approved the measure, but, news of the disaster at Quebec having arrived, a story that will soon be told, three of the regiments were sent to reinforce General Schuyler.

To Force the Fighting

In February, no movements more important than skirmishes took place. Washington had intended to march into the town as soon as the river and harbor were frozen, and had written to a friend, "Give me powder or *ice*." But when at last there was "a freeze and some pretty strong ice," a council of war decided that the enterprise was too hazardous. The same council decided that a bombardment would be advisable as soon as a sufficient supply of powder was received and that Dorchester Heights should be seized and fortified. By the end of the month, the army was strong enough to warrant offensive measures. Colonel Knox had brought more than fifty captured cannons, mortars, and howitzers on sleds over frozen lakes and through deep snows from Fort George, "over the ridges of the Green Mountains and down through the hill country of New England over roads which never bore a cannon before and have never borne one since;" shells had been obtained from the king's store at New York and from a captured ordnance brig; and even powder was now more abundant. Heavy guns had been mounted at Lechmere Point and elsewhere, and ten militia regiments had come in to strengthen the lines. On the twenty-sixth, Washington informed the Massachusetts council of his plans and obtained an order for the militia of the towns near Dorchester and Roxbury "to repair to the lines at these places" upon a given signal. "I should think," he wrote to congress, "if anything will induce them to

February 16

February 26

NEW ENGLAND
North America
NOUVELLE ANGLETERRE
Drawn on the Spot by his Excellency Governor Pownall. Painted by Mr Pugh & Engraved by P. C. Canot

Pownall's View of Boston

hazard an engagement, It will be our attempting to fortifie these heights; as on that event's taking place, we shall be able to command a great part of the town, and almost the whole harbor, and to make them rather disagreeable than otherwise, provided we can get a sufficient supply of what we greatly want."

Dorchester Heights Occupied

Extensive preparations were made for the attempt. Fascines, gabions, and bales of hay were collected in large quantities; forty-five bateaux, each capable of carrying eighty men, and two floating batteries were assembled in the Charles River; and two thousand bandages were prepared for dressing wounds. Washington had determined not only to seize the heights, but, if opportunity offered, to assault the city as well. To divert the enemy's attention, a heavy cannonade was kept up on the nights of the second, third, and fourth of March. About seven o'clock on the night of the fourth, General Thomas, with two thousand men, marched to take possession of the heights. A covering party of eight hundred led the way, then came carts loaded with entrenching tools, then twelve hundred men under the immediate command of General Thomas, while three hundred carts loaded with fascines and hay brought up the rear. The detachments moved quietly and were not discovered. By morning, two redoubts were so far completed as to form a good defense against bullets and grape-shot. "Perhaps," wrote Heath, "there never was so much work done in so short a space of time."

Preparations for Attack

In the morning, the British looked, rubbed their eyes, and looked again. But the new fortifications were no mirage or dream. Howe is said to have remarked that "the Rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." "It must have been the employment of at least twelve thousand men," he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, while one of his officers declared that the intrenchments "were raised with an expedition equal to that of the Genii belonging to Aladdin's Wonderful Lamp." Anxiety quickly took the place of astonishment. "If they retain possession of

1776 the heights," said Admiral Shuldham, "I cannot keep a ship in the harbor." The British soon realized that they must storm the works or evacuate the town. Consequently, Earl Percy was ordered to embark twenty-four hundred men on transports and to make a night attack upon the heights. The rebels made ready for their reception. Two thousand men were sent to reinforce General Thomas; rows of barrels filled with earth and stone were ready to be rolled down the hill upon the attacking column; Washington visited the heights and, reminding the men that it was the anniversary of the "Boston Massacre," urged them to avenge the death of their brethren. Meanwhile, four thousand troops, under Generals Putnam, Greene, and Sullivan, were assembled at Cambridge for an assault upon Boston.

March 5

Dorchester Heights Monument
(Marks the spot from which Washington saw the evacuation of Boston)

The Elements Forbid

In the afternoon of the fifth, a furious wind arose and so roughened the water of the bay that a landing of the British vessels was impracticable; the following day was stormy and rainy. Meanwhile the Americans so strengthened their works that the British, with Bunker Hill still fresh in memory, deemed the position too strong to be attacked. On the seventh of March, General Howe called a council of war at which it was decided to evacuate the town. When this intention became known, the inhabitants were much alarmed, but General Howe gave assurances that the city would not be destroyed unless his troops were "molested during their embarcation, or at their departure, by the armed force without." A statement to this effect was sent into the American lines and it was tacitly agreed that 1776

View of the North Battery, Boston

the Americans would allow the British to embark without molestation. In spite of this agreement, the British seized goods that, "in the possession of the rebels, would enable them to carry on war." This authorized plundering was imitated by lawless Tories, soldiers, and sailors. Thus considerable private property was stolen or wantonly destroyed. Although the booty carried off was not so great as some historians have represented, it included the manuscript of Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation*.

Boston is Evacuated

March 17

On the night of the sixteenth, Washington fortified Nooks Hill and thereby precipitated the embarkation. On the following day, the British forces, about eleven thousand including seamen, embarked on about one hundred and twenty transports and, taking with them about a thousand Tories who feared to remain behind, headed, it was irreverently said, "for Hull, Halifax, or Hell." For ten days, the fleet lingered at Nantasket Road; in this period, the fort at Castle William that Howe had had mined, was destroyed. On the twenty-seventh, most of the ships sailed for Halifax, leaving a few vessels that, for two months, caused the Americans great annoyance. On the day that Howe left Boston, part of the besieging army marched into the city and, on the twentieth, the main army entered. The Americans found large quantities of valuable stores, 1776 including about two hundred and fifty cannons, half of them serviceable, and twenty-five thousand bushels of wheat. From time to time, a number of vessels, unaware of the evacuation, sailed into the harbor and were captured, among them being a prize having on board fifteen hundred barrels of powder. On the day after the evacuation, March 18 Washington ordered General Heath with five regiments and part of the artillery to New York. The troops marched by way of Norwich to New London and thence took shipping to their destination. Upon the departure of the British fleet from Nantasket, Washington ordered the rest of his army south, leaving General Ward with five regiments for the protection of Boston.

Comment and Congratulation The news of the evacuation caused great chagrin among the supporters of the government in England but was received with satisfaction by many Whigs. In the colonies, the tidings aroused great enthusiasm. The selectmen of Boston and the provincial legislature thanked Washington in flattering terms for the service he had performed, and the continental congress, on motion of John Adams, passed a vote of thanks and ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him. Never, perhaps, in the world's history had so large an army supported by a powerful fleet been expelled from so strong a position with so little bloodshed. All told, the liberation of New England had cost fewer than two hundred lives in battle, and from the time that Washington took command not more than twenty had been killed. But the real tug of war was yet to come.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS —SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER

Congress Again at Work

THE continental congress had reassembled after its recess on the fifth of September, and on the thirteenth, plunged into the consideration of the details of military preparation, the regulation of Indian affairs, the enforcement of the non-importation agreement, and similar matters. It advised the provincial conventions or committees "to arrest and secure every person in their respective Colonies, whose going at large may, in their opinion, endanger the safety of the Colony, or the liberties of *America*." It ordered the preparation of "a just and well authenticated account" of British aggressions since the preceding March. It cautiously declined to pass upon the claims of the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming district of Pennsylvania, merely requesting the assemblies of the two colonies involved to prevent hostilities. By this time, new governments were forming west of the mountains (of which more in the next volume), but when the representative sent by Transylvania (in what is now Kentucky) appeared at the congress with a memorial asking that the frontier community be accepted as one of the united colonies, he was privately informed by John and Samuel Adams that it would be improper for the congress to grant the request "for it would be looked upon as a confirmation of the independent spirit with which Congress was daily reproached." In the midst of these labors, Peyton Randolph died.

October 6, 1775

October 24

1775 Dutch Thrift In the same month, congress recommended the provincial assemblies and conventions to export provisions to the foreign West Indies in order to get arms and ammunition, a result of congressional knowledge that the continental army was in sore straits for want of gunpowder. In fact, Boston agents had been at Amsterdam during the previous winter buying such supplies, and the little volcanic island of Saint Eustatius, one of the almost insignificant Dutch West Indies, took on such "resounding prosperity" that, at the instance of the British minister, the states-general had issued a proclamation forbidding the exportation of ammunition or other warlike stores to the British colonies in America. But the prohibition was easily and constantly evaded and much of the powder that the continental army shot away came March 6 from Holland by way of Saint Eustatius. In 1776, the British minister reported that a favorite way was for ships to load for the coast of Africa and sail for Saint Eustatius, where "their cargoes, being the most proper assortments, are instantly bought up by the American agents." May 14 A few weeks later, he wrote that the little island was the rendezvous of everything and everybody meant to be clandestinely conveyed to America.

A Navy Begun On the fifth of October, came information that two British transports without convoy had sailed from England laden with arms and ammunition for Quebec. The continental army stood in great need of such supplies and congress determined to make an effort to capture them. It was therefore resolved "That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a plan for intercepting two vessels, which are on their way to Canada, loaded with Arms and powder, and that the committee proceed on this business immediately." According to a letter written by John Adams, the committee consisted of himself, John Langdon, and Silas Deane. Acting on the report October 13 of this committee, congress resolved "That a swift sailing vessel, to carry ten carriage guns, and a proportionable number of swivels, with eighty men, be fitted, with all possible despatch" to cruise "eastward for intercept-

The Naval Committee

December 7

ing such transports . . . and for such other purposes as the Congress shall direct," and that "a Committee of three be appointed to prepare an estimate of the expence, and lay the same before the Congress, and to contract with proper persons to fit out the vessel," and that "another vessel be fitted out for the same purposes, and that the said committee report their opinion of a proper vessel, and also an estimate of the expence." By ballot, Silas Deane, John Langdon, and Christopher Gadsden were chosen as the committee. On the thirtieth, this committee brought in its report and congress resolved that "the second vessel ordered to be fitted out on the 13th Ins^{t}, do carry 14 guns, with a proportionate number of swivels and men. . . . That two other armed vessels be fitted out with all expedition; the one to carry not exceeding 20 Guns, and the other not exceeding 36 Guns, with a proportionate number of swivels and men, to be employed in such manner, for the protection and defence of the united Colonies, as the Congress shall hereafter direct." The growth of congressional ideas concerning armament and purpose between the thirteenth and the thirtieth is significant. It was also decided to increase the committee, and Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Hewes, Richard Henry Lee, and John Adams were chosen as additional members. The sessions of this committee of seven, sometimes called "the marine committee," but more often "the naval committee," were held in the evening and "were sometimes pleasantly continued, even until midnight, by conversational diversions, marked by a rich flow of soul, history, poetry, wine, and Jamaica rum." Thus was laid the keel of the American navy. This marine committee bought two vessels that were named the "Lexington" and the "Reprisal." John Barry was commissioned as captain of the former and Lambert Wickes as captain of the latter. Thus John Barry, Irish born and "probably the first Catholic

John Barry Capt

Autograph of Barry

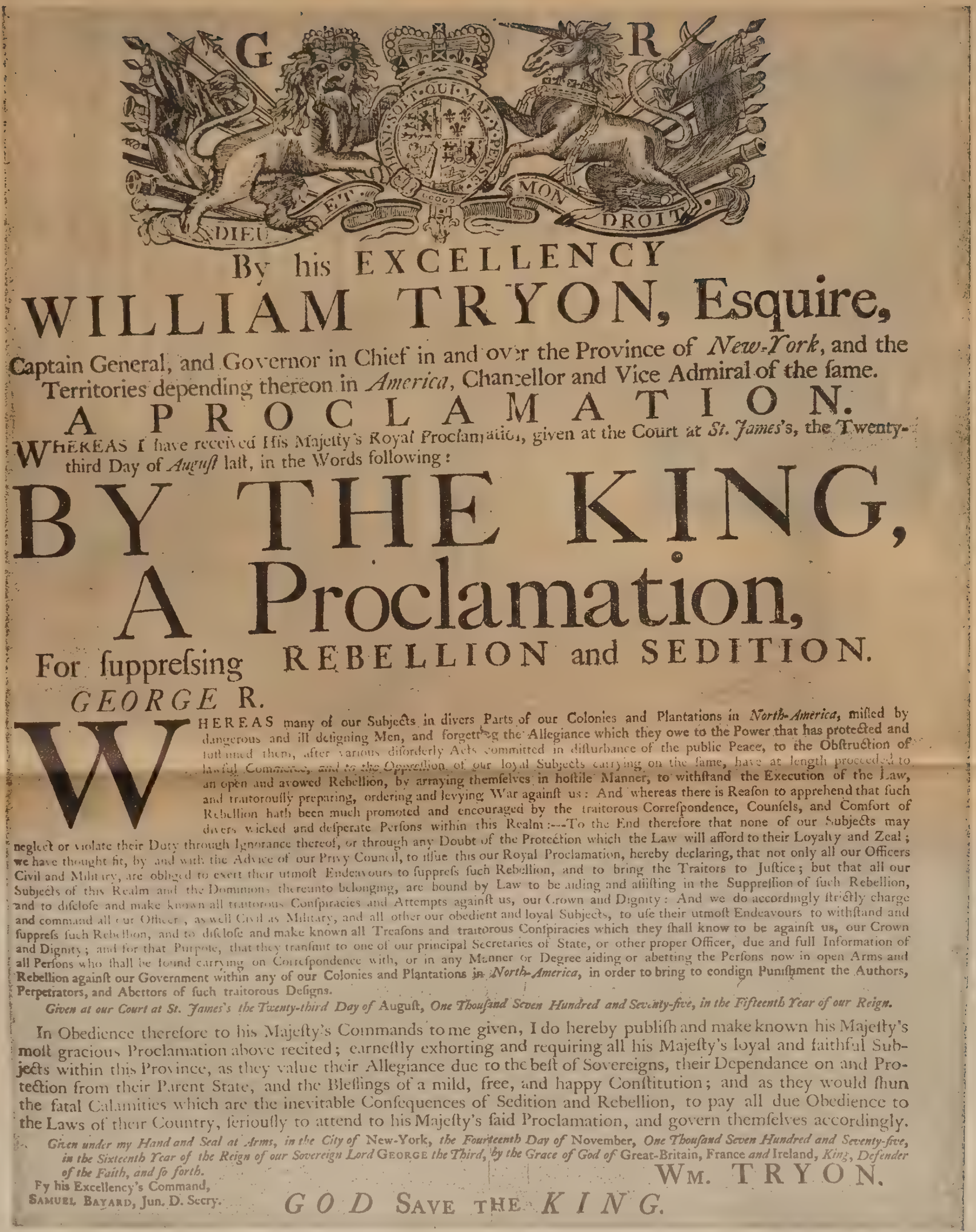
1775 appointed in the Continental service," became the senior captain of the infant navy.

The Rowel Spur

When the continental congress advised Massachusetts to resume government under her charter, James Warren, president of the provincial congress, though disappointed, wrote, "We are all submissive." On the thirty-first of October, however, news of the rejection of the "olive-branch" petition and of the issuance of the royal proclamation of rebellion reached Philadelphia and, on the next day, was published in the newspapers. November 1 At the same time, came reports that ten thousand Hanoverian mercenaries were to assist the British forces in America, and of the burning of Falmouth—a lurid commentary on the proclamation. The aspect of affairs was instantly changed. Members who had held back were now ready to act, and Samuel Ward wrote: "Thank God! the happy day which I have long wished for is at length arrived." A New Hampshire memorial asking the advice of congress "with respect to a method for our administring Justice, and regulating our civil police," had been on the table since the eighteenth of October. On the third of November, the matter was taken up and the provincial convention of New Hampshire advised "to call a full and free representation of the people, and that the Representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a form of Government as, in their judgment, will best produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the Province, during the continuance of the present dispute between *Great Britain* and the Colonies."

The American Palinurus

The next day, congress gave similar advice to South Carolina; on the fourth of December, to Virginia. South Carolina was urged to provide an army to defend the colony "at the continental expense," and Virginia to resist by force the arbitrary measures of her royal governor. This was a firm taking hold upon a long dreaded question; it was revolution. "Its friends so understood it, and were ready and anxious to make the recommendation general. Those who, in the hope of reconciliation,


G
R
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT

By his EXCELLENCY

WILLIAM TRYON, Esquire,

Captain General, and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of *New-York*, and the
Territories depending thereon in *America*, Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the ſame.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS I have received His Majeſty's Royal Proclamation, given at the Court at *St. James's*, the Twenty-third Day of *Auguſt* laſt, in the Words following:

BY THE KING,

A Proclamation,

For ſuppreſsing REBELLION and SEDITION.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS many of our Subjects in divers Parts of our Colonies and Plantations in *North-America*, miſled by dangerous and ill deſigning Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and ſuſtained them, after various diſorderly Acts committed in diſturbance of the public Peace, to the Obſtruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppreſſion of our loyal Subjects carrying on the ſame, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themſelves in hoſtile Manner, to withſtand the Execution of the Law, and traitorouſly preparing, ordering and levying War againſt us: And whereas there is Reaſon to apprehend that ſuch Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correſpondence, Counſels, and Comfort of divers wicked and deſperate Perſons within this Realm:---To the End therefore that none of our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; we have thought fit, by and with the Advice of our Privy Council, to iſſue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring, that not only all our Officers Civil and Military, are obliged to exert their utmoſt Endeavours to ſuppreſs ſuch Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Juſtice; but that all our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging, are bound by Law to be aiding and aſſiſting in the Suppreſſion of ſuch Rebellion, and to diſcloſe and make known all traitorous Conſpiracies and Attempts againſt us, our Crown and Dignity: And we do accordingly ſtrictly charge and command all our Officers, as well Civil as Military, and all other our obedient and loyal Subjects, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to withſtand and ſuppreſs ſuch Rebellion, and to diſcloſe and make known all Treaſons and traitorous Conſpiracies which they ſhall know to be againſt us, our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpoſe, that they tranſmit to one of our principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Perſons who ſhall be found carrying on Correſpondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Perſons now in open Arms and Rebellion againſt our Government within any of our Colonies and Plantations in *North-America*, in order to bring to condign Puniſhment the Authors, Perpetrators, and Abettors of ſuch traitorous Deſigns.

Given at our Court at St. James's the Twenty-third Day of Auguſt, *One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of our Reign.*

In Obedience therefore to his Majeſty's Commands to me given, I do hereby publiſh and make known his Majeſty's moſt gracious Proclamation above recited; earneſtly exhorting and requiring all his Majeſty's loyal and faithful Subjects within this Province, as they value their Allegiance due to the beſt of Sovereigns, their Dependance on and Protection from their Parent State, and the Bleſſings of a mild, free, and happy Conſtitution; and as they would ſhun the fatal Calamities which are the inevitable Conſequences of Sedition and Rebellion, to pay all due Obedience to the Laws of their Country, ſeriouſly to attend to his Majeſty's ſaid Proclamation, and govern themſelves accordingly.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, in the City of New-York, *the Fourteenth Day of* November, *One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Seventy-five, in the Sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord* GEORGE *the Third, by the Grace of God of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *King, Defender of the Faith, and ſo forth.*

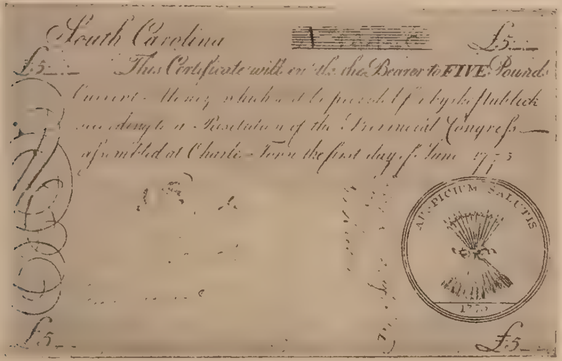
WM. TRYON.

By his Excellency's Command,
SAMUEL BAYARD, Jun. D. Secry.

GOD SAVE THE *KING*.

GOVERNOR TRYON'S PROCLAMATION TO SUPPRESS REBELLION AND SEDITION
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society

still hesitated, so regarded it, and pronounced it the first step towards independence." Samuel Adams wrote: 1775 November 4



South Carolina £5

£5 This Certificate will entitle the Bearer to FIVE Pounds

assembled at Charles-Town the first day of June 1775

£5 £5

AUSPICIUM SALUTIS
1775

South Carolina Currency, Issue of June 1, 1775

"Every moment should be improved to some serious purpose. It is the age of George III.; and, to do justice to our most gracious king, I will affirm it is my opinion that his councils and administration will necessarily produce the grandest revolutions the world has ever seen. The wheels of Providence seem to be in their swiftest motion. Events succeed each other so rapidly that the most industrious and able politicians can scarcely improve them to the full purposes for which they seem to be designed." The exaltation of the hour is clearly reflected in the resolution adopted in December authorizing an attack on Boston "notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed," and John Hancock's letter to Washington, both mentioned in the chapter preceding this. But Samuel Adams had been and still was in advance of his compatriots.

The New Navy

From this time, congress assumed a bolder tone, and its action took on more of the character of comprehensive legislation. The articles of war were strengthened, rules were drafted for the regulation of captures and reprisals and for privateering, and the colonies were urged to establish prize-courts. The capture of any armed vessel employed against the colonies, or of any

1775 tender or transport carrying munitions of war to the enemy had been authorized in November, and now, at the suggestion of the naval committee, the building of thirteen new war-ships, designated as "Hancock," "Randolph," "Raleigh," "Warren," "Washington," "Congress," "Effingham," "Providence," "Trumbull," "Virginia," "Boston," "Delaware," and "Montgomery" December 13 was ordered. Laws authorizing the purchase of additional merchant vessels suitable for cruisers were soon passed and, on the twenty-second of December, the naval committee laid before the congress a list of officers and the nominations were confirmed. Esek Hopkins, a brother of Stephen Hopkins, a member of the committee, was made commander-in-chief of the navy, and Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple, Nicholas Biddle, and John Burroughs Hopkins were made captains. Of the five first lieutenants, John Paul Jones was first named. There were also five second lieutenants, and three third lieutenants. Esek Hopkins's title was intended to correspond to that held by Washington, but he seems to have been commonly called commodore and sometimes admiral.

COMMODORE HOPKINS.

Esek Hopkins

The Committee on Foreign Affairs

November 29 Another important step had been taken in the appointment of a committee of five, Franklin being one of them, "for the sole purpose of corresponding with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland and other parts of the world." In this committee, the powers and duties of which gradually overshadowed those of most other committees of the continental congress, is to be seen the beginning of a department of foreign affairs. Further to cement the

1775

December 4

union, it was resolved "that in the present situation of affairs, it will be very dangerous to the liberties and welfare of *America*, if any Colony should separately petition the King or either House of Parliament." Provision was also made for a committee to sit during the recess of congress, with executive powers almost as ample as those of congress itself.

It Might Have Been

The time devoted to the consideration of the subject indicates that the coöperation of Canada and other British colonies was still expected. A committee, appointed in November, to visit the northern army under General Schuyler at Ticonderoga, was charged to use its "utmost endeavours" to induce the Canadians to enter the union, hold a provincial convention, and send delegates to congress. Free government and liberty of conscience were especially promised and blank commissions were to be taken along for use in raising a Canadian regiment. The failure of Arnold and Montgomery's attack on Quebec, the story of which will be told in the following chapter, made the conquest of Canada out of the question, but congress did not abandon its efforts. Agents were also sent to inquire into conditions in Nova Scotia and Washington was authorized to invade that province if he thought it "practicable and expedient." From Bermuda came petitions for relief from the pressure of the non-exportation agreement which was producing scarcity and suffering. In view of the apparent friendliness of the people to the American cause, congress directed that an annual provision of certain food products and other necessaries be made for them by Pennsylvania, New York, and the southern colonies, the exports to be paid for by Bermuda in salt, arms, ammunition, and the like. A similar situation arose in Nantucket and a similar concession was made to them. Thanks to the rigorous hand that congress had laid upon them earlier in the year, the people of Nantucket were suffering for fuel and provisions.

December 31

The Reply to the Proclamation

Congress did not reply to the king's proclamation of rebellion until the sixth of December. Then, in a formal response, the charge of treason was repudiated.

1775 "We know of no laws binding upon us, but such as have been transmitted to us by our ancestors, and such as have been consented to by ourselves, or our representatives elected for that purpose. . . . The cruel and illegal attacks, which we oppose, have no foundation in the royal authority. . . . Can Proclamations, according to the principles of reason and justice, and the Constitution, go farther than the law? . . . We, therefore, in the name of the People of these *United Colonies*, and by authority, according to the purest maxims of representation, derived from them, declare, that whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of our enemies for favouring, aiding, or abetting the cause of *American* liberty, shall be retaliated in the same kind and the same degree upon those in our power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or shall favour, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression."

Hard Work

One has but to read attentively the journal of the continental congress to realize how laborious and fatiguing were the duties assumed by the members. "How I find

December 3

time," wrote John Adams, "to write half the letters I do, I know not, for my whole time seems engrossed with business. The whole Congress is taken up, almost, in different committees, from seven to ten in the morning. From ten to four or sometimes five, we are in Congress, and from six to ten, in committees again." There were signs that the strain was telling and that enthusiasm was not quite as intense as it was in the beginning. On the sixteenth of November, the immediate presence of absent delegates was requested, and for the future no member was to absent himself without leave. There were ugly reports, too, of frauds in military contracts and of extravagant living by army officers. Worst of all, the bills of credit had depreciated and it was reported that "several evil disposed persons" had exerted themselves to that end.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN

A Possible Fourteenth Colony

WHILE there were American sympathizers at Quebec and a committee of correspondence at Montreal, the lands that bordered the Saint Lawrence were no part of "the continent" and congress hesitated to carry the war across the line; in other words, Canada had not cast in her lot with the other colonies and there was need of caution. The Canadian French were now ruled by their traditional enemies against whom they and their ancestors had fought for generations, but the people of the revolting colonies were of the same race and some of their leaders, irritated by the recent Quebec act, had said bitter things about the Roman Catholic religion. Sir Guy Carleton, a British general of Irish birth who had been governor of Quebec for several years, thought that the Catholic clergy and the French upper classes would prove loyal to the king, but the idea was prevalent that the mass of the people would side with the Americans or at least remain neutral.

A Campaign Authorized

June 1, 1775

There was but one battalion of British troops in all Canada. The temptation to occupy the country was great and Arnold and Allen were eager; nevertheless the continental congress resolved "that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any colony or body of colonists, against or into Canada." But events quickly worked a change at Philadelphia. Congress had called upon New York and Connecticut to furnish a stronger garrison for Ticonderoga and Crown

Point as an offset to Carleton's activity in strengthening the fortifications at Saint Johns and his apparent purpose to recover what had been lost on Lake Champlain. Arnold was importuning New York for command and congress recommended the convention of that colony to employ the Green Mountain Boys under officers of their own choosing. Finally, on the twenty-seventh of June, when the opportunity that had been pointed out was over-ripe, congress directed Major-general Philip Schuyler to hasten to Ticonderoga whither Connecticut had sent Colonel Hinman with a thousand men. In case he found that Carleton was preparing to invade the colonies, as Arnold had reported, Schuyler was forthwith to destroy the British boats or floating batteries. "If General Schuyler finds it practicable, and that it will not be disagreeable to the Canadians, he [shall] immediately take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and any other parts of the country, and pursue any other measures in Canada which may have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies."

Ph: Schuyler

Autograph of Philip Schuyler

Schuyler at Ticonderoga

Schuyler reached Ticonderoga on the eighteenth of July and at once began to organize the northern army. Major John Brown was sent into the country between Lake Champlain and Montreal to gather information. Recruits came slowly, arms and ammunition more slowly still, money for the payment of the soldiers not at all, and troubles blossomed in abundance. The British superintendent of Indian affairs, Guy Johnson, together with Sir John Johnson, son of the former superintendent, Sir William Johnson, who had lately died, had great influence among the Indians of the Mohawk valley and were quietly arming them in the interest of the king. It was probably the danger from this quarter that had led congress to vote in favor of Indian alliances and, two weeks later, to prepare an elaborate "talk" to the Six Nations.

July 1

Schuyler's Problem

There were sectional and personal difficulties, too. Schuyler, who had been a commissioner of New York in the controversy over the New Hampshire grants, had thus far known the Green Mountain Boys only as lawless frontiersmen and as soldiers whose leaders, Allen and Warner, had recently quarreled, first with Arnold and then with each other. On the twenty-seventh of July they had chosen Warner as their leader. Schuyler had but few troops from New York, and those from Connecticut were too lax in discipline to suit his ideas of military propriety. The relations between him and General Wooster of Connecticut were not pleasant; the differences between them seem not to be wholly settled yet. Congress had directed him not to remove either Wooster or July 1 his command from New York, but to recruit his army from the Green Mountain Boys and the people of the neighborhood. Schuyler naturally felt that his twelve hundred men were inadequate for the serious undertaking contemplated by congress and, on the sixth of August, asked for further instructions. Before the middle of the month, Major Brown returned from his pilgrimage with the report that there were but three hundred regulars in garrison at Saint Johns and only four hundred more in Canada.

Richd. Montgomery

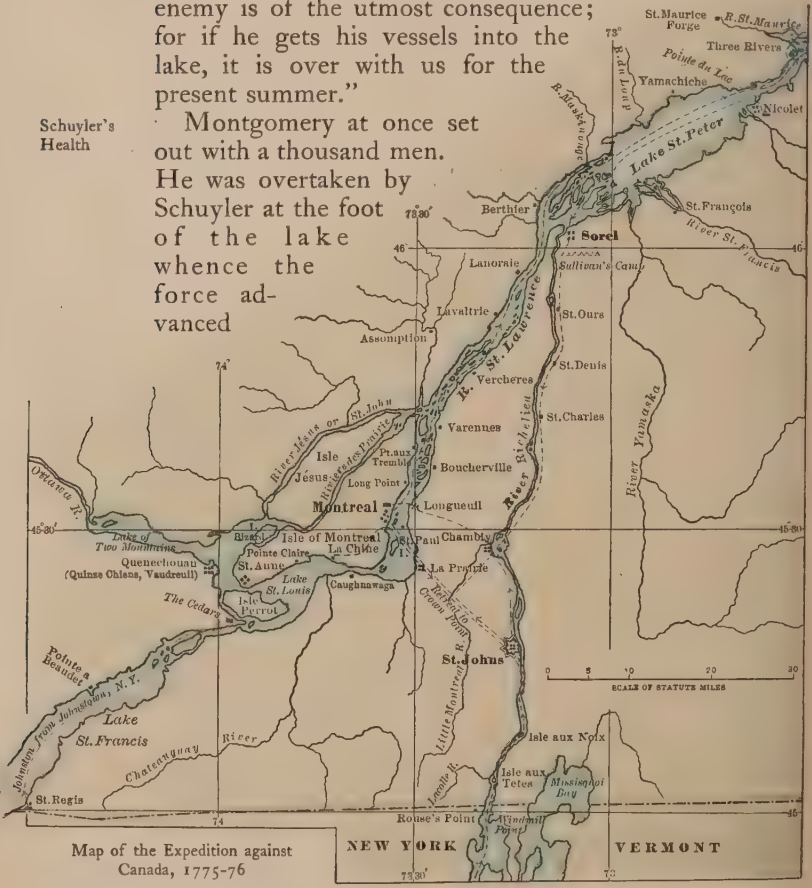
On the seventeenth of August, Brigadier-general Richard Montgomery arrived at the camp at Ticonderoga, second in command under Schuyler. He was an Irishman who, after active service in the British army, had sold his commission, purchased a fine estate on the banks of the Hudson River, and married a daughter of Robert R. Livingston; his presence "changed the spirit of the camp." Word

General Montgomery

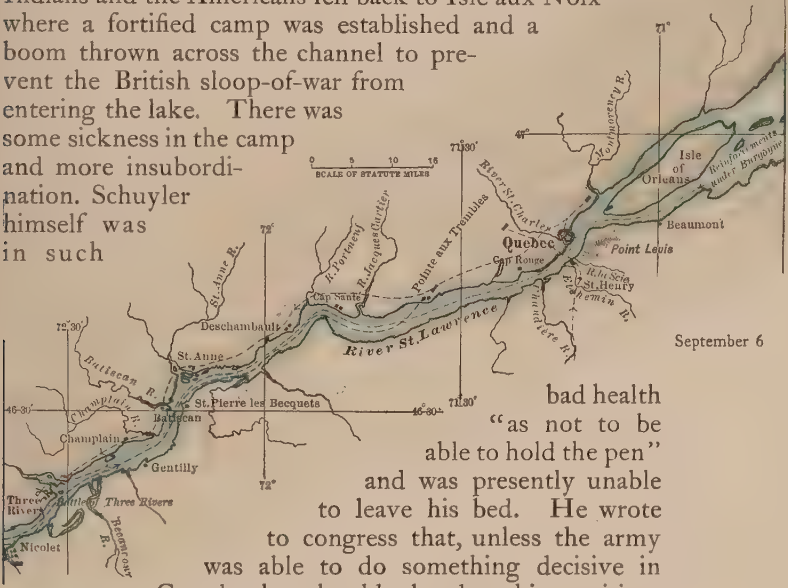
came to Ticonderoga that Carleton was about to move up the lake from Saint Johns. Schuyler, who was at Albany, received a message from Washington telling him that he was considering an expedition to be sent against Canada by way of the Kennebec. "Not a moment's time is to be lost," wrote the commander-in-chief. Montgomery wrote to Schuyler that he did not like to move without orders, "but the prevention of the enemy is of the utmost consequence; for if he gets his vessels into the lake, it is over with us for the present summer."

Schuyler's Health

Montgomery at once set out with a thousand men. He was overtaken by Schuyler at the foot of the lake whence the force advanced



Map of the Expedition against Canada, 1775-76 on Saint Johns. There was a skirmish with a party of Indians and the Americans fell back to Isle aux Noix where a fortified camp was established and a boom thrown across the channel to prevent the British sloop-of-war from entering the lake. There was some sickness in the camp and more insubordination. Schuyler himself was in such bad health "as not to be able to hold the pen" and was presently unable to leave his bed. He wrote to congress that, unless the army was able to do something decisive in Canada, he should abandon his position, "unless I receive your orders to the contrary." After "a large controversy" in congress, Schuyler was "encouraged to attend to his own health" and the immediate direction of the campaign fell to Montgomery.



September 6

Montgomery Besieges Saint Johns

As soon as Schuyler left Isle aux Noix, Montgomery laid siege to Saint Johns. He found his troops so inefficient and insubordinate that he wrote to his wife: "I am so exceeding out of spirits and so chagrined with the behavior of the troops, that I most heartily repent having undertaken to lead them. . . . Such a set of pusillanimous wretches never were collected." Even the less impulsive Schuyler declared that "if Job had been a general in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience." A battery could not be moved without consulting the army, but Montgomery "saved appearances by consulting a council of war." The siege

1775 lasted about two months. Schuyler was zealous in forwarding reinforcements and, in spite of sickness, insubordination, and lack of munitions of war, the campaign was crowned with success.

An Unfortunate Dream

While the siege was in progress, Ethan Allen and Major Brown were sent to enlist recruits among the Canadians; they were received with such favor that Allen dreamed of surprising Montreal as he had surprised Ticonderoga. One night, toward the end of September, he crossed the river to Long Point, expecting that Brown would coöperate with him. But Brown did not cross the river and, in the morning, Allen and his eighty Canadians and thirty Americans were attacked by about two hundred and sixty regulars, civilians, and Indians. A dozen or more of the invading party were killed or wounded; Allen and thirty-eight of his men were taken prisoners; the rest escaped. The valiant leader of the Green Mountain Boys and the hero of Ticonderoga was heavily ironed, sent to England, and there imprisoned in Pendennis castle.

The Canadian Refugees

Among the members of the distinguished family into which Montgomery had married was James Livingston, who, though born in New York and educated there for the bar, had removed to Montreal, where he was practicing his profession. Perhaps the fact that Montgomery was in command intensified Livingston's patriotism and made him eager to assist in the American conquest of Canada. Be the cause what it may, he gathered three or four hundred "patriots," most of them from Montreal and vicinity, hurried across the border, and joined Montgomery's army. These Canadian auxiliaries continued with Montgomery until the end of the campaign. After the final disaster at Quebec, Livingston returned to New York and served in the American army until the end of the war. He and his men were looked upon by the British authorities as outlaws and they became refugees in

Jas Livingston

Autograph of James Livingston

1775

name and fact. They were the analogues of the loyalists of the thirteen colonies, but concerning them historians have had much less to say. Long subsequently Colonel Livingston and other "refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia" were partly compensated for the confiscation of their estates by grants of land in the "refugee tract," in which the greater part of the capital of Ohio now stands.

Flag of the Seventh British Fusileers, captured at Fort Chambly

Montgomery Takes Saint Johns

On the eighteenth of October, a detachment of Montgomery's little army attacked Fort Chambly, further down the Sorel, and captured it with its large store of ammunition and provisions. The six tons of powder and the cannons taken at Fort Chambly were most opportune for the besiegers of Saint Johns where ammunition was running low. The colors of the seventh fusileers — the first taken in the war — were sent to congress, and the one hundred and sixty-eight prisoners marched to Connecticut. Carleton, undertaking to relieve Saint Johns, saw his army dwindle by desertion, "thirty or forty of a night." Another force was gathered and, at the end of October, he tried to cross the Saint Lawrence, only to be driven back by Colonel Seth Warner and his Green Mountain Boys and the "Second

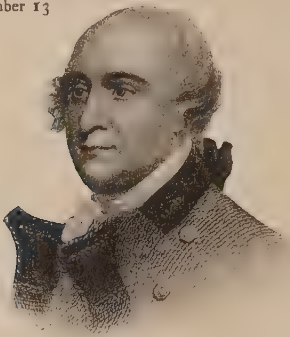
Dav. Wooster

1775 Regiment of Yorkers." Schuyler continued to send reinforcements and supplies from Albany. When General Wooster arrived with recruits from Connecticut, he set a much needed example of military discipline by promptly acknowledging the superior rank of the younger Montgomery. With Fort Chambly lost and Carleton repulsed, Major Preston's hope of relief faded away and, on the third of November, he surrendered Saint Johns. Five hundred regulars and a hundred Canadians—the greater part of the British army in Canada—were allowed to march out with the honors of war.

Montgomery Occupies Montreal November 13

Leaving Montreal to its fate, Carleton retired to Quebec. Montgomery hastened northward as rapidly as possible and occupied Montreal without opposition. He urged the Canadians to choose without delay "faithful representatives to sit in the continental congress, and make a part of that union," and in other ways tried to attach them to the American cause. He wrote to congress, however, that "till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered;" and he "pledged his word that on his part there should be no negligence of duty, no infirmity of purpose." Congress was in earnest in its efforts to secure the fourteenth colony and had lately sent Robert R. Livingston, John Langdon, and Robert Treat Paine with instructions to examine the fortifications at Ticonderoga and "to use their endeavors to procure an accession of the Canadians to a union with these colonies." Our story now turns to the attempt on Quebec.

November 8



Guy Carleton

Arnold's Expedition

Disappointed and mortified at his failure to obtain the preferment to which he felt himself entitled, Arnold had hastened from Crown Point to lay his grievances before the commander-in-chief at Cambridge. Recognizing the abilities of the uneasy Connecticut officer and confident that the British in Boston would not assume the offensive, Washington gave Arnold a colonel's commission and put him in command of an expedition intended to penetrate Canada by the way of the Kennebec River. The force detached for this hazardous undertaking numbered about ten hundred and fifty men, most of them chosen for their experience and skill in woodcraft. Among the number were Daniel Morgan and his Virginia riflemen, and Aaron Burr, a nineteen-year old volunteer.

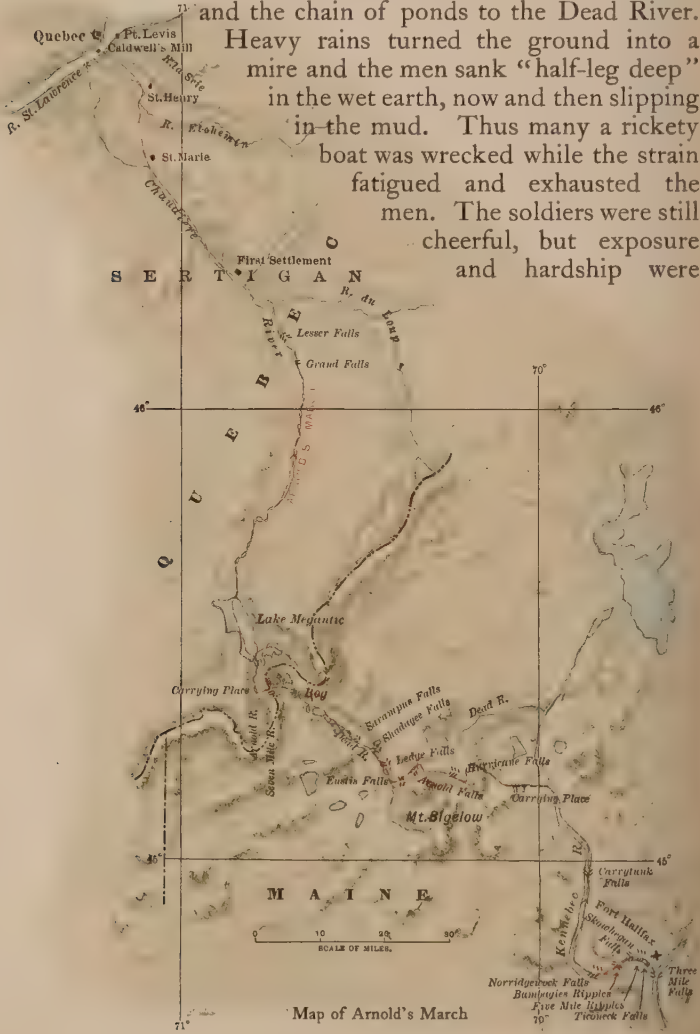
Up the Kennebec

Although the lateness of the season imperatively dictated haste, there was some delay in setting out. The advance left Cambridge on Monday, the eleventh of September, the main body followed on Wednesday, and all were at Newburyport by the end of the week. Here they took ship for the Kennebec and, by the twenty-second, had ascended the river to Gardinerstown, or Pittston, where a number of poorly-built bateaux had been made ready. Two days later, the army was at Fort Western, now Augusta, and the next day began the memorable transit of the Maine wilderness, Morgan and his riflemen leading the way. The Kennebec is broken by frequent rapids, the portages around which involved exhausting labor. In addition to the heavy bateaux, there were provisions for forty-five days, arms and ammunition, tents and camp furnishings, axes and shovels, to be carried. The few small settlements along the river could not furnish much assistance. By the time Skowhegan was reached, forty miles from Fort Western, there was cold weather and some of the soldiers had to sleep in frozen clothes. The main body of the troops marched overland by a rough road following the river, now on one bank and now on the other, as far as Norridgewock.

In the Wilderness

Norridgewock Falls were passed early in October. The bateaux had already begun to go to pieces and large quantities of provisions had spoiled, flour and pork being about the only articles left. At Carritunk Falls, the

1775 army entered the wilderness and, on the ninth, all were at the Great Carrying-place. Here nearly two weeks were spent in passing the rough portages and the chain of ponds to the Dead River. Heavy rains turned the ground into a mire and the men sank "half-leg deep" in the wet earth, now and then slipping in the mud. Thus many a rickety boat was wrecked while the strain fatigued and exhausted the men. The soldiers were still cheerful, but exposure and hardship were



Map of Arnold's March

beginning to tell upon them and sickness was increasing.

Over the Height of Land

The ascent of Dead River was an unbroken record of peril, labor, and suffering. Eighty-three miles up this stream the army reached the carry beyond which, through Lake Megantic, lay the head-waters of the Chaudière. There was no trail, nor were there guides who knew the country. Provisions were nearly gone, some of the men had died, many were sick, and all were hungry and threatened with disease and death in swamp and stream, pond and pathless forest. "And what was it all for? A chance to get killed. The end of the march was Quebec, impregnable." On the twenty-fourth of October, Arnold left the remnant of his army to follow him and pushed ahead for the Chaudière, "a race against time, a race against hunger." Arnold hoped to rejoin his men with provisions in a week and some of the soldiers, imagining that supplies were on the way, hastened to consume at once the food that remained. On the twenty-fifth and without Arnold's knowledge, Lieutenant-colonel Enos and three companies turned back. Thus reduced to about seven hundred men, the feeble but heroic army toiled on.

Arnold's Watch

Opportune Relief

The name Chaudière signifies "a boiling kettle" and was aptly descriptive of the upper course of the river. On the twenty-eighth of October, Arnold, with fifteen men in four bateaux and a canoe, passed out of Lake Megantic into the foaming, rocky river, at this point more than a thousand feet above the level of the Saint Lawrence. Two of the boats were smashed, baggage and arms were lost, soon the canoe was abandoned, but the party pressed on until, on Monday, the thirtieth of October, they reached the outskirts of the first French settlement. Three days later, French Canadians with cattle and provisions met the head of the column that had pressed forward out of the wilderness. Men who had been glad of boiled roots and roasted dog now laughed

November 2

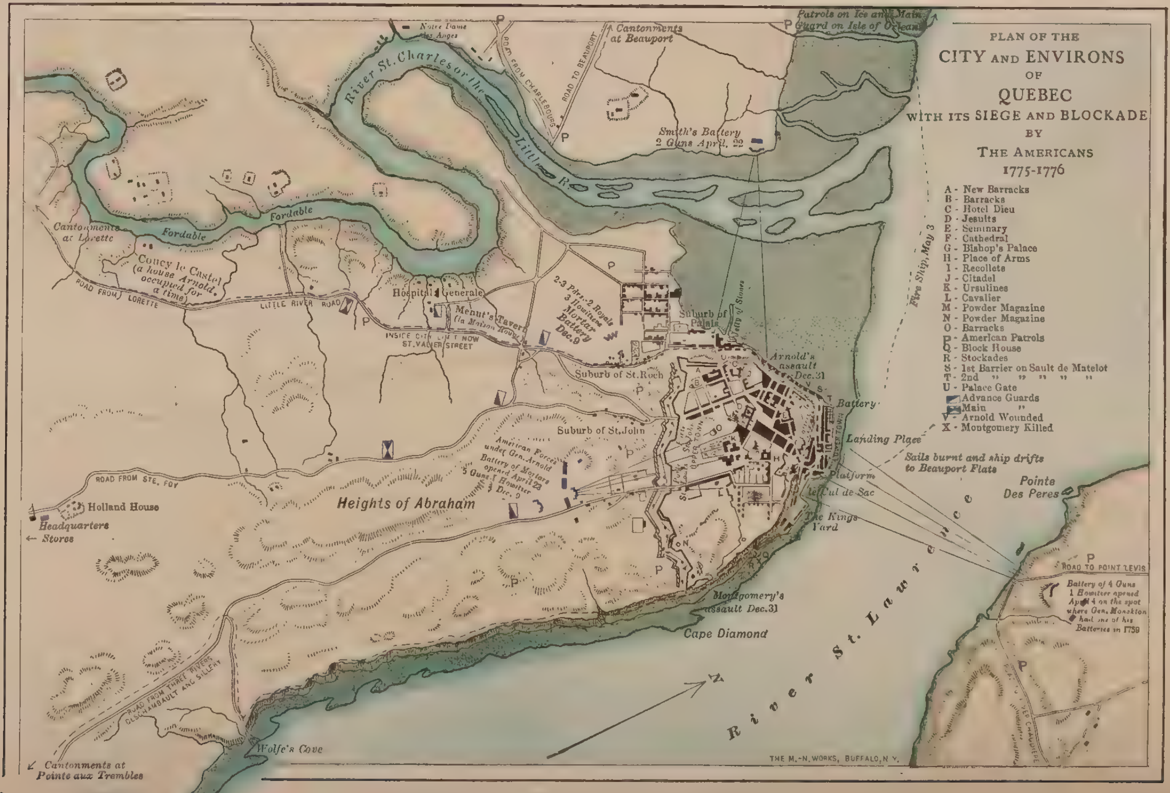
1775 in frenzied joy and gorged themselves like wolves on the half-cooked flesh of cattle and sheep. The number of those who lost their lives during the fearful march cannot be accurately told, but it was probably not so large as might have been expected. "A single day," however, "would have made a vast difference; and had the weather been severe, instead of warm and fair, during the most critical period, many a soldier must, no doubt, have succumbed."

Washington's Proclamation to the Canadians

The rest of the way was comparatively easy, a good road following the bank of the river, with villages every few miles. But the troops were so exhausted that the advance was slow and, while food was abundant, the men suffered greatly from lack of shoes and clothing. Arnold's instructions were positive as to rights of property and freedom of conscience, and death was the penalty prescribed for any wrong to a Canadian or an Indian in person or property. A proclamation by Washington, intended to be distributed among the inhabitants, assured the Canadians that the Americans had come to protect and not to injure them, and that "the cause of *America* and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous *American* citizen, whatever may be his religion or his descent. . . . Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty." Arnold found the habitants willing enough to sell him provisions at excessive prices, but indisposed to join his army. A story circulated early in November, that the British proposed to "burn and destroy all the inhabitants in the vicinity of Quebec, unless they came in and took up arms in defence of the garrison," doubtless had a deterring effect. Arnold was more successful with the Indians, forty or fifty of whom accepted his offer of bounty, provisions, and permission to choose their own officers.

Out of Touch

On the thirteenth of October, while still in the wilderness and facing the return of a part of his force, Arnold had dispatched a letter to Schuyler by the hand of an Indian messenger; the letter fell into the hands of the lieutenant-governor at Quebec. On the seventh of



ARNOLD AND MONTGOMERY'S ATTACK ON QUEBEC

1775 November, Arnold, still in ignorance of what had taken place, wrote again to Schuyler. The next day, he received from Montgomery a letter dated the twenty-ninth of October, five days before the surrender of the fort at Saint Johns. He knew now that Schuyler was probably not in command of the American army in Canada; but of the whereabouts of the army or its leader, he was still ignorant.

Quebec Reinforced

On the third of November, Arnold's approach became known at Quebec and all the boats on the south side of the Saint Lawrence were seized or destroyed; the river itself was guarded by a frigate and a sloop of war. Arnold waited three days for a strong wind to abate sufficiently to permit the passage of the river in canoes. On the night of the thirteenth, some five hundred men were safely ferried over and took position on the Plains of Abraham; most of the others soon followed, but it was too late to take the town by surprise. A week before, there was hardly a soldier in Quebec. But as soon as Cramahé, the lieutenant-governor, learned of the approach of Montgomery and Arnold, he took vigorous measures to put the town in a state of defense. A hundred carpenters arrived on the fifth; on the twelfth, came Colonel Mac Lean with a hundred and seventy men recruited from Wolfe's disbanded Highlanders who had settled in Canada; and merchant vessels reinforced the armed vessels in the harbor. The delay of a week had saved Quebec.

Carleton at Quebec

Arnold formed his shivering, weary army on the Plains of Abraham and offered battle, but he had no artillery and dared not risk an assault. He sent a flag to demand a surrender, but the British refused to leave their position. Carleton "and the whole military establishment" had November 11 left Montreal just in advance of Montgomery's arrival. At the mouth of the Sorel, his flotilla, consisting of the "Gaspé," two other armed vessels, and eight smaller craft, was intercepted by the American forces there under command of Colonel James Easton. By night and in November 16 disguise, Carleton escaped and, on the nineteenth, the whole fleet surrendered. Two days later, the prisoners

1775

laid down their arms at Montreal. Meanwhile, with recruits picked up on the way, Carleton reached Quebec just as Arnold was withdrawing to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above the town, to await the coming of Montgomery. Montgomery arrived on the second or third of December, with three hundred men, cannons, provisions, and much-needed clothing for Arnold's troops; on the fifth, the united American armies, comprising fewer than a thousand provincials and Livingston's two hundred Canadian volunteers, appeared before Quebec. Within the massive fortifications, the strongest in America, Carleton had about seventeen hundred men, with two hundred cannons and eight months' provisions. The only hope of success was in an assault and, as the enlistments of many of the Americans would expire by the end of the year, the attempt must be made soon or not at all. Most of the Green Mountain Boys had deserted Montgomery at Montreal and the congress that had authorized the campaign made little or no effort to send forward fresh recruits.

November 19

A Night Assault on Quebec

Carleton remembered Montcalm's rashness, refused to be lured from his defenses, declined to receive Montgomery's flags of truce, and left the American army to the tender mercies of a Canadian winter. On Christmas, the Americans determined to make an assault on the first stormy night. The night of the thirtieth was dark and stormy, and the troops were ordered to be ready to move at two o'clock on the morning of the thirty-first. From the plateau, Livingston and Major Brown were to make feints upon the upper town, to cover assaults by Montgomery and Arnold on opposite sides of the lower town. At the firing of signal rockets from the plateau, Montgomery was to advance from Wolfe's Cove by the river road under the cliff, while Arnold was to move down the narrow strip between the Saint Charles River and the upper town and join Montgomery in the lower town near the Prescott gate. It was hoped that, with the lower town in American hands, the desire of the merchants to save their property would induce Carleton to surrender.

1775

At the Pres-de-Ville Barricade

Montgomery's column, made up of fewer than three hundred New York troops, moved down the river road in the face of a bitter storm, over ice-covered rocks and through drifting snow. The barricades under Cape Diamond were passed without difficulty. Montgomery was the first to enter the undefended barrier which carpenters began to cut away. The path in front was wide enough for only five or six to march abreast. On the right was a precipice with the river at its foot; on the left, the overhanging cliff; in front, a log blockhouse pierced for muskets and defended by four 3-pounders. Montgomery listened, but heard nothing. Within the blockhouse, sailors were standing at the guns with lighted linstocks; Montgomery's plans had been betrayed and the approach of his troops had been detected. When sixty of his men had joined him inside the first barricade, Montgomery called out: "You will not fear to follow where your general leads. Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" The cannons, loaded with grapeshot, were fired into the faces of the Americans at a distance of not more than fifty yards. Montgomery and a dozen fell dead; Aaron Burr escaped unhurt. A moment of hesitation was followed by musket shots from the blockhouse; then Donald Campbell withdrew the party without further loss.

Montgomery's Death

At the Sault-au-Matelot Barricade

On the other side of the lower town, along a path narrowed by ice thrown up from the river, Arnold's men in single file struggled through the blinding storm and bitter cold. Arnold was severely wounded at the first barricade and was carried back to camp. The town by this time was wide awake; bells were ringing, drums were beating, and guns began to play from battery and barricade. Morgan and his Virginia riflemen rushed forward, firing into the very port-holes, scaled the works with ladders, and captured the battery with its officers and men. The fight was continued in the narrow streets beyond, but Morgan, upon whom the command now devolved, knew nothing of the town and had no guide. The Americans pressed forward to the second barricade which extended from the rock to the river. This was more stoutly defended than the first and, when Morgan and his intrepid followers looked down from their scaling ladders, "it was only to see on the other side rows of troops prepared to receive them on hedges of bayonets if they had leaped down."

Caught in the Trap

With the repulse of Montgomery's column, Carleton was freed from danger in that quarter, and a sortie of the British from the Palace Gate caught Morgan and his men between the barricades. Morgan tried to cut his way out, but, at ten o'clock, after a desperate and unequal fight, surrendered with four hundred and twenty-six men. Arnold's reserves retreated to their camp, whither Carleton, fully occupied within the town, did not follow them. The American loss in killed and wounded was about sixty; the British loss was slight. And so, amid gloom and disaster, the curtain of the new year rose on the American army of invasion.

In Memoriam

January 4

Montgomery was buried at once in Quebec and with little ceremony. A few days later, the body was enclosed in a coffin and privately interred with the services of a Protestant clergyman. At forty years of age, the hero passed away "with the love of all that knew him, the grief of the nascent republic, and the eulogies of the world." Congress, "for transmitting to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death," voted three hundred pounds sterling for a monument to his memory. Forty-three years after his death, his widow watched a barge bearing his remains as it slowly passed her home at Rhinebeck, on the Hudson. "The pomp with which it was conducted," she wrote, "added to my woe." The pageant moved down the stream to New York where the remains were interred with distinguished honors.

In Judgment

Even in the house of commons, the chivalrous bravery of Montgomery evoked praise. Lord North having referred to him as a "rebel," Fox retorted that the epithet was no disgrace. "All the great asserters of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind

1776 in all ages, have been called rebels. We owe the constitution which enables us to sit in this house to a rebellion." John Adams expressed a more searching judgment when June 2 he wrote to Henry Knox: "We have had some examples of magnanimity and bravery, it is true, which would have done honor to any age or country; but these have been accompanied with a want of skill and experience which entitles the hero to compassion, at the same time that he has our admiration. For my own part, I never think of Warren or Montgomery without lamenting, at the same time that I admire, that inexperience to which perhaps they both owed their glory."

In Camp on the Plains of Abraham

The story of the rest of the Canadian campaign is one of suffering, defeat, and failure. The force that remained to the sorely wounded Arnold who succeeded to the command numbered fewer than seven hundred men, including Livingston's Canadians and many sick and wounded. Desertions were common, smallpox was in the camp, and the rigor of the season continued unabated. Toward the end of January, about a hundred and eighty men arrived in two detachments from Montreal and, early in February, about twenty-five men on snow-shoes from New England. Efforts were made with little success to enlist more Canadians. January 11 Arnold wrote to congress asking for heavy artillery and for five thousand men under a general of experience. It was found impracticable to furnish so many troops, but three new regiments were sent from New England. On the twenty-fourth of January, with Arnold's dispatch announcing his defeat before it, congress voted another letter to the inhabitants of Canada, declaring that "we will never abandon you to the unrelenting fury of your and our enemies," and again urging the choice of delegates. Early in March, a regiment of three hundred and forty men arrived from Pennsylvania; they were followed by reinforcements from New England, New York, New Jersey, and colonies further south. On the fourteenth of March, another flag of truce was sent to the city, but the British refused to receive any flag "unless it comes to

COLONEL ARNOLD.
Provincial Troops sent against QUEBEC, through the
General Montgomery.

BENEDICT ARNOLD

From original mezzotint engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection)

implore the mercy of the king." The next day, the garrison planted upon the walls a large wooden horse with a bundle of hay before it, and bearing the inscription: "When this horse has eaten this bunch of hay, we will surrender."

British Reinforcements

Toward the end of March, a number of cannons reached the camp from Montreal and, on the first of April, "the rigid and puritanical Wooster" arrived and took the command. The next day, Arnold was again injured by his horse falling on his wounded leg. On the twelfth, Arnold retired to Montreal. A congressional committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton soon arrived in Canada, accompanied by John Carroll, the Catholic archbishop of Baltimore. They found that Canadian sentiment was unfavorable to the American cause because of the arbitrary measures that had been resorted to in order to obtain supplies and because the people believed that the Americans would "be driven out of the Province as soon as the King's troops can arrive." Both sides had expectations and it was soon "evident that Quebec was a prize for which the large fleet of reinforcements already dispatched from England, and the new army of the Americans were to race." On the first of May, General John Thomas, who had been sent by congress to succeed Wooster, arrived in camp and found an army of nineteen hundred men, of whom a thousand were fit for duty. On the sixth, the hearts of the besieged were gladdened by the arrival of three vessels, forerunners of a great armament.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton

Autograph of Charles Carroll

American Retreat

A continuance of the siege being out of the question, the Americans began preparations for retreat. Carleton, being reinforced by about two hundred men from the vessels, sallied from the town; the Americans fled with precipitation, leaving their artillery, many of their small arms, much of their baggage, and their sick and wounded.

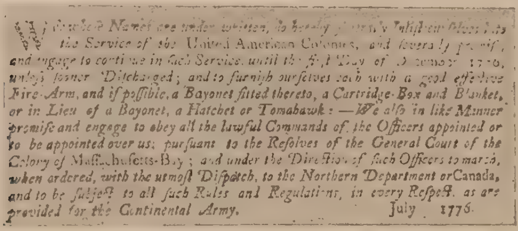
1776 According to the story heard at Halifax by Earl Percy, lately arrived from Boston, "they left their pots boiling so that the king's troops sat down and ate their dinner from them." About this time, a hostile force coming down the river from Ontario fell upon Arnold's outpost at

May 19 Cedar Rapids ("The Cedars") and captured its garrison. General Thomas withdrew to the Sorel and Burgoyne landed at Quebec with large reinforcements. On the second of June, Thomas died at Chambly of the smallpox.

In Sorry Plight

Four days later, General Sullivan arrived and took command. The coming of reinforcements brought the army at Sorel up to about twenty-five hundred men, with perhaps as many more elsewhere. Sanguine and precipitate, Sullivan resolved to seize and hold Three Rivers, but the attempt resulted in disastrous failure. The arrival of British and Hessian troops under Burgoyne, Riedesel, and Phillips had brought the effective British force in Canada to about ten thousand. Convinced that he could accomplish nothing, Sullivan, on the approach of the British fleet, broke up

June 14 his camp and withdrew to Saint Johns where he was joined by Arnold from Montreal. The retreat was then continued to Isle aux Noix and, on the first of July, the fragments of the army arrived at Crown Point where Sullivan was soon relieved by Gates. The condition of the soldiers was deplorable. "Everything about them was infected with the pestilence." "I did not look into a tent or hut," says Trumbull, "in which I did not find either a dead or dying man." Burgoyne moved forward languidly and the Isle aux Noix was occupied as the advanced post of the British.

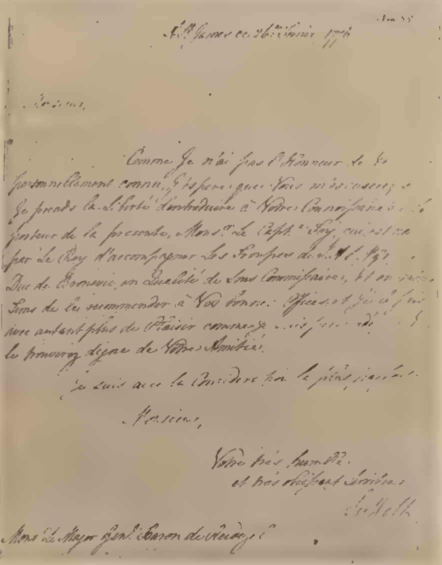


We whoſe Names are under-written, do hereby ſeverally inliſt ourſelves into the Service of the United American Colonies, and ſeverally promiſe, and engage to continue in ſuch Service, until the firſt Day of December 1776, unleſs ſooner Diſcharged; and to furnish ourſelves each with a good effective Fire-Arm, and if poſſible, a Bayonet fitted thereto, a Cartridge-Box and Blanket, or in Lieu of a Bayonet, a Hatchet or Tomahawk: —We alſo in like Manner promiſe and engage to obey all the lawful Commands of the Officers appointed or to be appointed over us; purſuant to the Reſolves of the General Court of the Colony of Maſſachuſetts-Bay; and under the Direction of ſuch Officers to march, when ordered, with the utmoſt Diſpatch, to the Northern Department or Canada, *and to be ſubject to all ſuch Rules and Regulations, in every Reſpect, as are provided for the Continental Army.* July 1776.

Formula of Enlistment in Continental Army

In Explanation

Thus ended the campaign against Canada. According to some authorities, it had cost the lives of five thousand Americans — probably an exaggeration. Bancroft says that "in a little more than two months the northern army lost by desertion and death more than five thousand men." It had brought suffering and death to many Canadians and its failure left at the mercy of the conqueror many more who had incautiously risen against the king. That any good came from the attempt may be neither affirmed nor denied, but it is safe to say that in few campaigns in the history of modern warfare has so much heroism been joined to so much mismanagement. The chief reasons for the failure as given by a committee of congress were that the undertaking was begun too late in the fall, that short enlistments had forced immature expeditions for fear that later there would be no men to undertake them, want of specie, and the smallpox.



St. James ce 26e Fevrier 1776

Monsieur,

Comme Je n'ai pas l'Honneur de Vo[illegible] personnellement connu, J'espere que Vous m'excuserez [illegible] Je prends la Liberté d'introduire à Votre Connoissance [illegible] porteur de la presente, Mons.r Le Capt.e Foy, qui est [illegible] par Le Roy d'accompagner Les Troupes de [illegible] Duc de Brunswic, en Qualité de Sous Commissaire, et en [illegible] tems de le recommender à Vos bons Offices, et Je le fais avec autant plus de Plaisir comme Je [illegible] le trouverez digne de Votre Amitié.

Je suis avec la Consideration la plus parfaite

Monsieur,

Votre très humble
et très obeissant Serviteur
Suffolk

Mons. Le Major Genl. Baron de Riedesel

Suffolk's Letter to Riedesel introducing an officer, February 26, 1776

CHAPTER XX

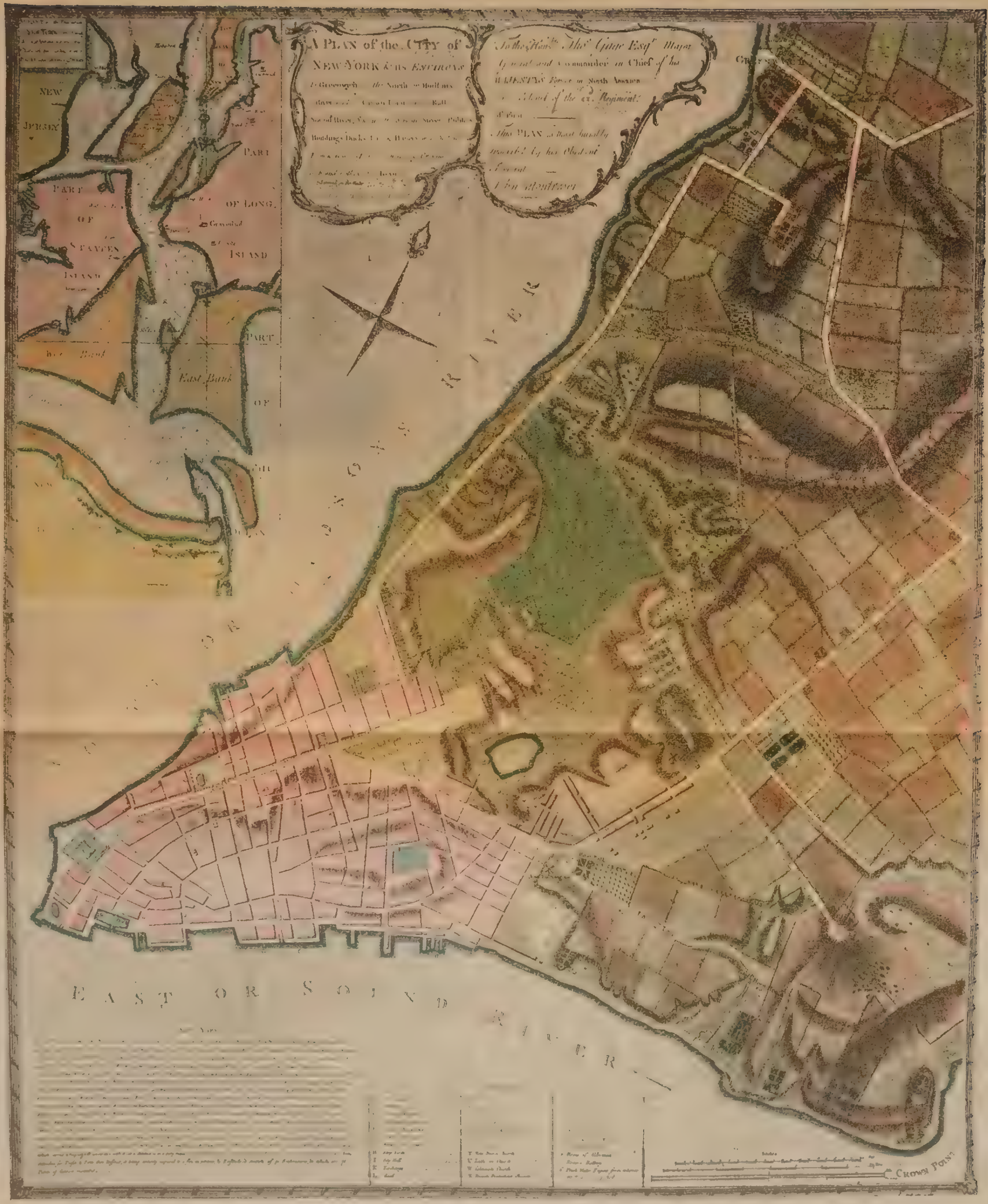
THE TEMPER OF THE MIDDLE AND SOUTHERN COLONIES

Continental Unity

MORE than one historian has so told the story of the American revolution as to leave the impression that the earlier phases of that struggle pertained almost exclusively to England and New England. It unquestionably is true that in chronic stubbornness, activity of resistance, and willingness to risk an encounter with the most powerful nation in the world, New England, and especially Massachusetts, was preëminent, and that her boldness was both incentive and inspiration to the patriots in the other colonies. Puritan self-assertiveness and ministerial wrath combined to wreathe Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill with an immortal fame, but it would be a grave mistake to imagine that the middle and southern colonies were laggards in resistance to unjust statutes or arbitrary administration. Each colony had its peculiar circumstances, its special grievances, and its own idea of the best way in which to meet the rapidly approaching crisis; but I sincerely hope that each careful reader of the third volume of this history clearly realizes that, in every one of the "old thirteen," chronic struggles between people and prerogative had developed high ideals of personal and political rights and had trained men for an unflinching demand for those rights.

New York

In July, 1775, Burgoyne at Boston had written to the secretary of state for the colonies that "General Gage


A PLAN of the CITY of NEW-YORK & its ENVIRONS
To the Hon.ble Tho.s Gage Esq.r Major General and Commander in Chief of his MAJESTYS Forces in North America
This PLAN is Most humbly inscribed by his Obedient Servant
John Montresor
NEW JERSEY
PART OF STATEN ISLAND
PART OF LONG ISLAND
East Bank
NORTH OR HUDSONS RIVER
EAST OR SOUND RIVER
CROWN POINT

MONTRESOR'S PLAN OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY, 1775
From original in collection of the New York Historical Society

seems to be not disinclined to an idea of evacuating Boston, if he can make himself master of New York, and of taking up his winter quarters there; and there is much solid reason in favor of it. The post, in a military view, is much more important and more proper to begin the operations of next year's campaign. In political consideration, yet more might be said for it." Burgoyne's view was so obviously correct that when, later in the year, Washington learned that the British proposed to leave Boston, he at first assumed that Howe would sail for New York instead of Halifax.

The Inner Wheel

New York had organized a provincial congress and a committee of safety, the latter numbering one hundred members. There were many ardent loyalists in the province; some of them were members of the committee. In general, they were opposed to the ministerial policy, but they clung stubbornly to hopes of reconciliation and opposed all radical measures. Within the same committee was a group of Sons of Liberty "who were quick to see and ready to resent any encroachment of arbitrary power." When they heard of the fighting at Lexington and Concord, a military company was formed and armed with weapons taken from the arsenal; cannons were collected and measures taken for the protection of the city. In May, the provincial congress directed the enlistment of four regiments and the erection of fortifications. General Wooster, with a Connecticut regiment, took up position at Harlem, while Colonel Hinman with another Connecticut regiment was stationed at Ticonderoga. In the following month, the British garrison at New York, under orders to join the army in Boston, marched down Broad Street, preceded by

June 6

Marinus Willett

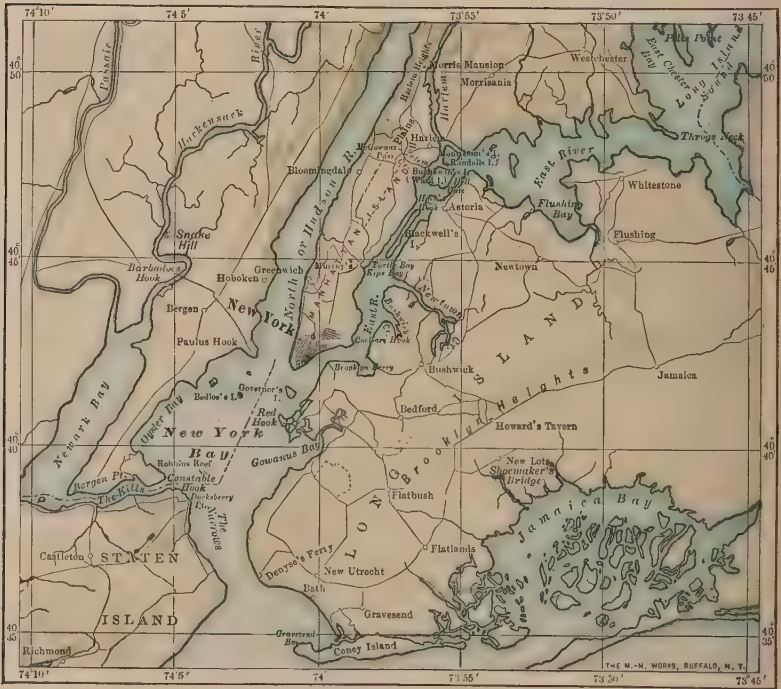
1775

Willett's Exploit

five carts loaded with arms. Sons of Liberty gathered quickly and one of them, Marinus Willett, seized the foremost horse by the bridle and halted the column. The carts were led from the line of march and the troops went on without them. Late in August, the provincial congress ordered that the Battery be dismantled. In spite of the fire from the British ship of war, "Asia," the mounted guns were removed. A few months later, the unmounted guns were carried off by General Lee without opposition.

Watching the Tories

Though most of its members were still opposed to independence, the provincial congress took active steps to prevent the Tories from aiding the British army. In August, it resolved that any person guilty of giving assist-

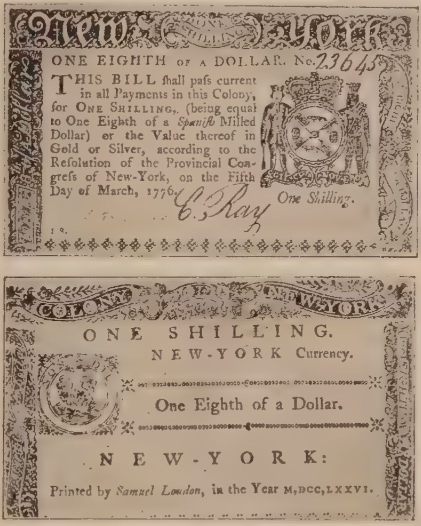


Topographical Map of New York and Vicinity ance to the enemy should be punished by the local committee. In September, it ordered that the arms of those who had not sworn allegiance to the patriot cause should be seized and the orders were zealously carried out by the local committees. In May, 1776, a crusade was begun against Queens County, one of the chief strongholds of loyalism, "and until midsummer the loyalists were harried by the Whig militia, seized and sent to neighboring states on parole, or imprisoned at home." There was a fear that an attack would soon be made upon the colony from without and it was felt that internal enemies must be suppressed.

Fortifying the City

Early in 1776, General Charles Lee arrived and, in spite of a jealous missive from the committee of safety who requested that his Connecticut troops should not pass the border until the purpose of their coming was made known, entered the city just as Sir Henry Clinton sailed into the harbor with a British squadron that had been detached from the fleet at Boston. A week later, Clinton's squadron sailed southward. Lee soon saw that it would be difficult so to fortify the city as to make it safe from attack by sea, but he proposed to make it a "disputable field of battle" to the end that if it must be given up its capture should be as costly to the enemy as possible. He therefore strengthened the works at the lower end of the

February 4



NEW YORK

ONE EIGHTH OF A DOLLAR. No. 23645

THIS BILL ſhall paſs current in all Payments in this Colony, for ONE SHILLING, (being equal to One Eighth of a *Spaniſh* Milled Dollar) or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Reſolution of the Provincial Congreſs of New-York, on the Fifth Day of March, 1776.

C. Ray

One Shilling.

COLONY OF NEW-YORK

ONE SHILLING.

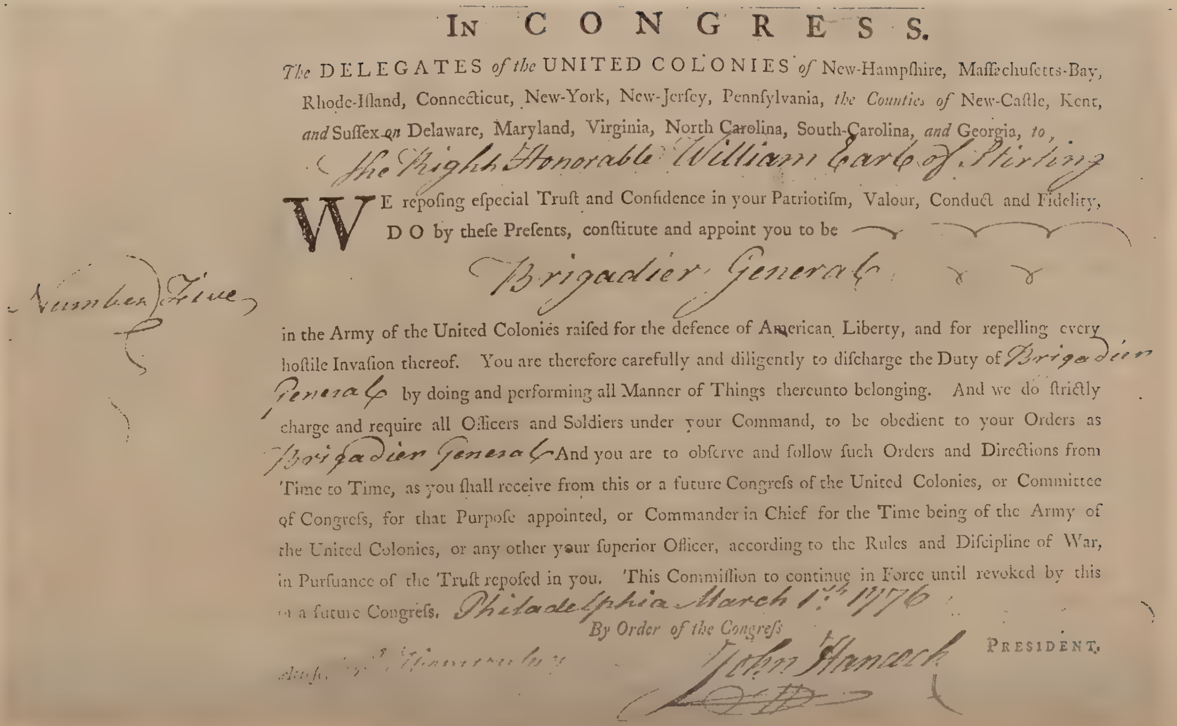
NEW-YORK Currency.

One Eighth of a Dollar.

NEW-YORK:

Printed by *Samuel Loudon*, in the Year M,DCC,LXXVI.

New York Currency, Issue of March 5, 1776



IN CONGRESS.

The DELEGATES *of the* UNITED COLONIES *of* New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, *the Counties of* New-Caſtle, Kent, *and* Suſſex *on* Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South-Carolina, *and* Georgia, *to*,

The Right Honorable William Earl of Stirling

WE repoſing eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your Patriotiſm, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO by theſe Preſents, conſtitute and appoint you to be

Brigadier General

Number Five

in the Army of the United Colonies raiſed for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hoſtile Invaſion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to diſcharge the Duty of *Brigadier General* by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do ſtrictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as *Brigadier General*. And you are to obſerve and follow ſuch Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you ſhall receive from this or a future Congreſs of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congreſs, for that Purpoſe appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your ſuperior Officer, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War, in Purſuance of the Truſt repoſed in you. This Commiſſion to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congreſs. *Philadelphia March 1st 1776*

By Order of the Congreſs

John Hancock PRESIDENT.

[illegible]

COMMISSION ISSUED TO THE EARL OF STIRLING

1775
1776

island, began an intrenched camp on Brooklyn Heights from which his guns could sweep the channel or bombard the city, and built a fort at Horn's Hook opposite Hell Gate to guard the approach from the sound. In March, congress sent Lee southward to watch Clinton, and Lord Stirling (William Alexander) took up the work of fortifying the city. On the fourth of April, Washington left Cambridge; on the thirteenth, he reached New York where he anxiously awaited an attack by the British forces.

In the Quaker Province

In Pennsylvania, also, there was a strong Tory sentiment, particularly among the Quakers. In January, 1775, the Quaker yearly meeting at Philadelphia passed a resolution calling upon its members "to unite in abhorrence of every measure and writing" that tended "to break off the happy connection of the colonies with the mother country, or to interrupt their just subordination to the king." At this time, even John Dickinson, the able author of the "Letters of a Farmer," trembled as he thought of the future that a separation from England might bring. Moreover, the powerful proprietary interest resisted any such change. These elements constituted so compact and powerful a body of conservatism that the Pennsylvania assembly enjoined its delegates in the continental congress to "dissent from and utterly

SIX SHILLINGS, according to an Act of General Assembly of Pennsilvania, passed in the 15th Year of the Reign of His Majesty GEORGE the Third. Dated the 25th Day of March, 1775.
No.
SIX SHILLINGS.
To Counterfeit is Death.
Printed by HALL and SELLERS. 1775.

Pennsylvania Currency, Issue of March 25, 1775

November 9, 1775

1775 reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our Mother Country, or a change of the form of this government." But the patriot minority made up in aggressiveness what it lacked in numbers, and the continental congress at Philadelphia interested the people and gradually won sympathy for the American cause.

In New Jersey The Quaker influence was strong in New Jersey and Delaware also. In 1762, William Franklin had been appointed royal governor of New Jersey. Although he was a son of Benjamin Franklin, he remained firm in his loyalty to Great Britain and was unpopular as much by reason of his time-serving conduct and courtier-like propensities as on account of his illegitimate birth. Under his lead, the assembly disclaimed the idea of independence and instructed its delegates to the continental congress in language almost identical with that of Pennsylvania quoted in the paragraph above. (November 28) The assembly also resolved on a separate petition to the king, and the continental congress sent John Dickinson, John Jay, and George Wythe to secure a reversal of that determination. Under the influence of this illustrious trio, the New Jersey legislators yielded. The assembly was soon prorogued and a provincial congress that was pledged to abide by the decisions of the continental congress came into being. Some of the governor's letters were intercepted and found to contain expressions so "unpatriotic" (January, 1776) that the new government declared him an enemy to his country and put him under guard.

In Delaware In Delaware, public feeling was much like that of Pennsylvania with which the "three lower counties" were intimately connected. As late as the twenty-second of March, 1776, the assembly instructed its delegates in the continental congress to join in the military operations necessary for the common defense but to "avoid and discourage any separate treaty" and to aim at reconciliation. In short, at this time, the four middle colonies "were arrayed in solid phalanx against the measure of independence."

1774

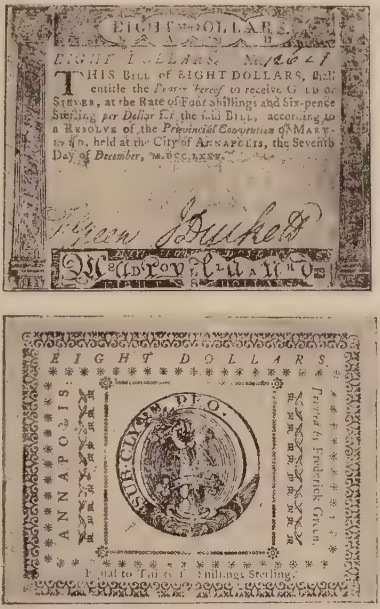
1775

In Maryland

In Maryland, the proprietary rule had been mild, the people were prosperous and happy, and Sir Robert Eden, who had succeeded Horatio Sharpe, was more moderate than any other of the royal governors. Largely because of Eden's course, the Maryland patriots "hoped and labored for conciliation long after the other colonies had given up all idea of it." After the wrath of England had descended upon Massachusetts in the shape of the Boston port act, ninety-two delegates from the counties met in convention at Annapolis. Gradually, the power and scope of the convention widened, but the disposition to temporize was so strong that when the members of the committee of the newly created Harford County signed a declaration heartily approving the resolves and the association of the continental congress and added: "We do most Solemnly pledge ourselves to Each other & to our Country and Engage ourselves by Every Tie held Sacred among Mankind to perform the Same at the Risque of Our Lives & fortunes," the convention dissolved the committee. If we could admit the claim that this patriotic pledge was a real declaration of independence, it would be important to emphasize the fact that Harford County flung out her flag before a gun was fired at Lexington and got into line more than sixty days ahead of Mecklenburg. As a matter of fact, there were numerous such outbursts

June 22, 1774

March 22, 1775



EIGHT DOLLARS.

EIGHT DOLLARS.

THIS BILL of EIGHT DOLLARS, shall entitle the *Bearer hereof* to receive GOLD or SILVER, at the Rate of Four Shillings and Six-pence Sterling *per Dollar* for the said BILL, according to a RESOLVE of the *Provincial Convention* of MARYLAND, held at the City of ANNAPOLIS, the Seventh Day of *December*, MDCCLXXV.

EIGHT DOLLARS.

ANNAPOLIS:

Printed by Frederick Green.

Equal to Thirty-six Shillings Sterling.

Maryland Currency, Issue of December 7, 1775

1775
1776

of defiance, none of which can be given rank as "the first declaration."

The Provincial Convention

On the twenty-sixth of July, 1775, the convention formally took the government of the province into its hands. In December, it entered on its journals a "declaration" that the people of that province "never did nor do entertain any views or desires of independency." When the continental congress ordered the arrest of Governor Eden, the Maryland council of safety interfered and forbade it and the Maryland convention approved the proceedings of the council. But when the governor ordered the election of a new assembly, the convention met before the writs were returnable and forbade the election. On the day before the convention issued this veto, Governor Eden left the province on board a British frigate.

June 25, 1776

In the Old Dominion

The earl of Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, had dissolved the assembly in May, 1774, for having resolved to keep the first of June, the day on which the Boston port act was to go into effect, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1775, Patrick Henry moved in the Virginia convention that the province be put immediately in a state of defense and supported the motion in a speech of rare eloquence. On the twenty-first of April, Dunmore removed the powder from the magazine at Williamsburg to an armed vessel. Under the stimulus of the news from Lexington, Henry gathered some of the

Powder Magazine at Williamsburg, Virginia

volunteers that the convention had directed to be organized in each county and compelled the governor to make restitution — the first armed resistance to royal authority in Virginia. Dunmore, fearing for his safety, sent his family on shipboard, fortified his mansion, and proclaimed Henry and his associates as rebels. In June, he joined his family. The house of burgesses, convoked to consider North's conciliatory resolution, asked him to return and, on his refusal, ceased to hold further official intercourse with him.

Open Rebellion

Dunmore soon had a fleet at his command and undertook to bring Virginia to terms. The little port of Hampton was blockaded and, on the twenty-sixth of October, tenders from the war-ships were sent into Hampton Roads to burn the town; the town guard fired on the boats and the British were driven back without making a landing. That night, the Culpeper riflemen hurried into Hampton. On the following day, the British made another attempt and the riflemen killed a few, wounded more, and captured seven. In November, Dunmore took possession of Norfolk, then the principal port in Virginia, and thence issued a proclamation declaring martial law and offering freedom to all slaves and indented servants of rebels who would enlist under his banner. He authorized the raising of "Lord Dunmore's own Regiment of Indians" and of another regiment to be known as "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian." On the ninth of December, the loyalist force was totally defeated at Great Bridge, near Norfolk, by provincial troops among whom were the Culpeper minutemen. One of the lieutenants of this company was John Marshall, afterwards chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States.

Norfolk Burned

The report of the affair at Great Bridge greatly angered the royal governor who abandoned Norfolk and hastened on board his fleet. A few days later, Robert Howe of North Carolina took command of the "rebels" and occupied the town, and Dunmore prepared to carry out the instructions framed for the guidance of an English armed force in such a case. On New Year's day, 1776, about the middle of the afternoon, the fleet began to cannonade the town and sailors were sent to fire the warehouses on the wharves and a brig at the dock. The conflagration continued for three days, at the end of which time nearly all the buildings had been burned. The part that escaped was presently burned by the provincials to prevent it from becoming a shelter to the enemy. Thus was destroyed "the best of the towns in England's oldest and most loyal colony." Washington expressed the hope that the fate of Norfolk "will unite the whole country in one indissoluble band."

The End of Royal Rule in Virginia

Far from intimidating the Virginians, this event only rendered them the more determined. The two regiments already in service were increased and new ones were ordered raised. On the sixth of May, forty-five members of the house of burgesses met at Williamsburg and, alleging that the ancient constitution had been subverted, dissolved themselves; "thus the last vestige of the king's authority passed away." On the same day, a constituent assembly, composed of elected delegates, held its first session.

In North Carolina

August 20–25, 1774

Tryon, the governor of North Carolina, had been succeeded in 1771 by Josiah Martin, a plain, honest man without tact. Martin tried to prevent the sending of representatives to the first continental congress, but, in spite of him, a convention met at Newbern, appointed delegates, and passed radical resolutions. From that time, the provincial congress and committees of safety gradually assumed governmental authority. Thus, in 1775, the committee for Rowan County urged the militia captains to prepare for war, seized all the gunpowder that they could find, and resolved "to rouse like one Man in Defense of our religion from Popery, our Liberty from Slavery and our Lives from Tormenting Death." When the governor issued writs for a new legislature, Colonel John Harvey, in behalf of the popular party, issued a call for a new convention. The legislature met, but on the fifth day of its session, the governor dissolved it and thus brought to an end the last legislative body that ever sat in North Carolina under royal rule. The convention

April 8, 1775

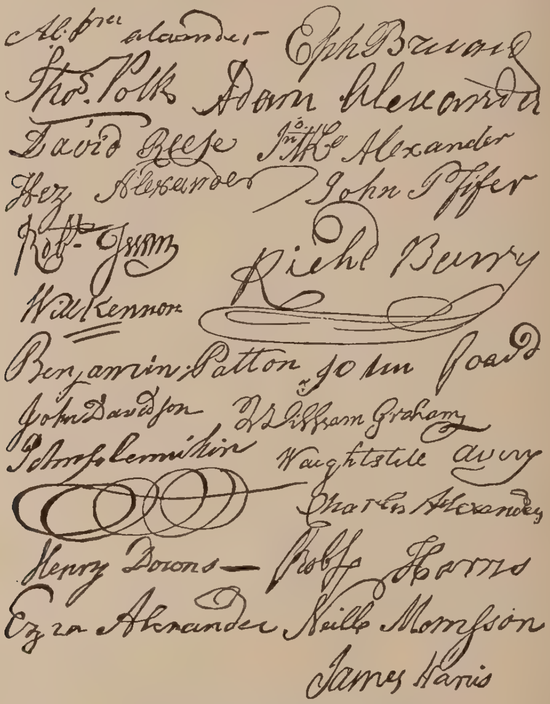
also met and approved the proceedings of the continental congress. Toward the end of May, Martin sent his family to New York and transferred his headquarters to Fort Johnston on the Cape Fear River. In July, the fort was destroyed and the governor driven to the "Cruiser," British sloop of war. For the rest of the year, Martin's official residence was on shipboard. In August, the provincial congress, in session at Hillsboro, resolved "that the people of this province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves; And we do solemnly and sincerely engage, under the Sanction of virtue, honor and Sacred Love of Liberty, and our Country, to maintain and support all and every the Acts, Resolutions and Regulations of the said Continental and Provincial Congresses, to the utmost of our power and Abilities." In September, this provincial congress created a provincial council of thirteen members with power to take such action as they shall "judge expedient to strengthen, secure and defend the colony" during the recess of the congress.

August 23

The Mecklenburg Resolutions

In this period occurred an event around which has developed one of the bitterest controversies in American history. As nearly as I can determine, the leading facts are as follows: The North Carolina convention of August, 1774, had advised the several counties to constitute committees to carry out the plans of the general congress, and thirty-six of the counties had chosen such committees. On the thirty-first of May, 1775, the Mecklenburg committee met at Charlotte and adopted a preamble and nineteen resolves, declaring, among other things, that each provincial congress, "under the direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive Powers within their respective Provinces," and that this state of affairs should continue until the "General Congress" should provide otherwise, "or the Legislative Body of Great Britain resign its injust and arbitrary Pretensions with respect to America."

1775 The resolutions were read to the people from the steps



Ab. Alexander Eph Brevard
Thos. Polk Adam Alexander
David Reese Jno McK Alexander
Hez Alexander John Pfifer
Robt Irwin Richd Barry
Wm Kennon
Benjamin Patton John Foard
John Davidson William Graham
Waightstill Avery
Charles Alexander
Henry Downs Robt Harris
Ezra Alexander Neill Morrison
James Harris

Signatures of the Mecklenburg Committee

of the court-house and were printed in several newspapers, north and south.

The "Mecklenburg Declaration"

In April, 1819, after the records of the Mecklenburg committee had been destroyed by fire and the resolutions of the thirty-first of May had been almost forgotten, the *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette* published a set of resolutions that, it was alleged, had been adopted by a convention in Mecklenburg County on the twentieth of May, 1775. These resolutions had been rewritten several years before, from memory, by John McKnitt Alexander who now styled the reproduction a "Declaration of Independence." The language of the alleged

"Declaration" is more radical than is that of the resolutions of the thirty-first and, in some of its phrases, is suspiciously like the corresponding parts of the declaration adopted at Philadelphia in July, 1776. Jefferson resented the implication of plagiarism and declared the "Mecklenburg Declaration" to be an "unjustifiable quiz." Frothingham and others were unable to find any contemporary reference, in manuscript or in print, to such a convention or public meeting, and critical students of American history generally refuse to accept the "Mecklenburg Declaration" as authentic. It is probable that, in attempting to reproduce the lost resolutions of the thirty-first of May, Mr. Alexander unconsciously changed the dates and wrote into his draft words made familiar to him and us by Jefferson's immortal document. In the bitterness of the controversy, it has been too generally overlooked that the authenticity of the resolves of the thirty-first is unquestioned and that they breathed a spirit of defiance that made them little less than a real declaration of independence.

The Lexington and Concord of North Carolina

Unwilling to give up his authority without another effort, Governor Martin stirred up the loyal elements in the province and asked for arms and troops from England. Both were sent, but before the troops arrived, matters came to a head. On the tenth of January, 1776, Martin issued orders for the erection of the king's standard, and a large force of Highlanders and other loyalists assembled under the command of "Brigadier General Donald Macdonald, of his Majesty's forces for the time being in North Carolina." On the twenty-seventh of February, Macdonald attacked a force of about a thousand minutemen and militia under Colonels Caswell and Lillington at Moore's Creek Bridge, but was defeated and captured with many of his men. Together with Clinton's menace, the affair at Moore's Creek Bridge put ten thousand armed men in the field within a fortnight; the province was not again seriously disturbed by a hostile armed force until the coming of Cornwallis in 1780. When, a few weeks later, General Clinton and

1775 April-May

Sir Peter Parker arrived off the coast with the expected assistance, they thought it best to turn to South Carolina.

In South Carolina

We have already seen that South Carolina was but little behind Massachusetts in its resistance to the tea duty and that it responded promptly to the call of the Boston port act. But Lieutenant-governor William Bull had thrown personal and official influence against the patriot agitation, and only by clever tactics had the commons house of assembly been able to provide for the expenses of the delegates to the second continental congress. In January, 1775, a provincial congress was organized and at once assumed direction of the popular movement. By April, 1775, the contributions of South Carolina for the relief of Boston were greater than those of any other colony.

August, 1774

A Calm Committee

In April, the provincial congress created a committee of five persons "to procure and distribute such articles as the present insecure state of the interior parts of this colony renders necessary for the better defence and security of the good people of those parts, and other necessary purposes." Under this elastic charter, the committee promptly seized the powder and arms in and near Charles Town. The lieutenant-governor called the attention of the commons house of assembly to the matter and the house gravely received a report "that with all the inquiry your committee have made, they are not able to obtain any certain intelligence relative to the removal of the public arms and gunpowder as mentioned in his Honor's message; but think that there is reason to suppose that some of the inhabitants of this colony may have been induced to take so extraordinary and uncommon a step in consequence of the late alarming accounts from Great Britain."

Governor Campbell

On the fourth of June, the members of the provincial congress entered into an association for defense "against every foe," declaring that all persons who refused to join with them should be regarded as "inimical to the liberties of the colonies." Two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a million of money were voted, and a council of safety for the general direction of affairs was appointed. Lord William Campbell soon arrived as royal governor of South Carolina, thus ending the official career of Lieutenant-governor Bull. Bull soon went to England where he died in 1791. Lord Campbell was the youngest son of the duke of Argyle and, in 1763, had married a native of the province to which he now was sent.

June 18

South Carolina Troops Occupy Fort Johnson

Campbell's official career was brief. When he landed in Charles Town, on the eighteenth of June, he was formally received by the militia and a few officials, but the citizens as a whole gave him no welcome. Active military preparations continued, several vessels carrying powder were seized, and the powder was appropriated. On the eleventh of August, a gunner at Fort Johnson was tarred and feathered and carted through the town; it was even suggested that the governor himself be seized. In September, it was learned that British troops were expected and provincial troops occupied Fort Johnson. Campbell at once issued a proclamation dissolving the commons house of assembly and took refuge on board the sloop of war "Tamar," carrying with him the great seal of the province.

Hostilities Begun

Just then, the sloop of war "Cherokee" arrived at the harbor. The two British vessels made a demonstration against Fort Johnson but did not attack it. The provincial congress met on the first of November and, on the ninth, directed the commandant at the fort to use every means in his power to prevent the passage of British armed vessels. Two days later, a short but brisk engagement took place between the "Defence," a schooner that the patriots had armed, and the "Tamar," but without material injury to either vessel. This action of the eleventh of November marked the beginning of hostilities in South Carolina. On the nineteenth of December, a battery was erected on Haddrell Point. This forced the war-ships to fall back opposite Sullivan Island, on which a new fortress was soon begun. Governor Campbell then sailed for Jamaica. The patriot party was triumphant, but new clouds were gathering.

A British armament was on its way and a new war with the Cherokees was about to break.

Rutledge and Drayton

March 26, 1776

By authority of the continental congress, the South Carolina provincial congress, not a truly representative body, adopted a "constitution" for temporary use until the dispute with the mother country could be adjusted. This "constitution" intrusted executive and military powers to a president and commander-in-chief, transformed the congress into the "General Assembly of South Carolina" which was to continue until its successor was elected in the following October, and instituted a legislative council to be chosen by the assembly. John Rutledge, a man of great energy and ability, was chosen as president and commander-in-chief, and William Henry Drayton as chief-justice. In the following month, Drayton charged the grand jury at Charles Town: "The law of the land authorizes me to declare, and it is my duty boldly to declare the law, that George III., king of Great Britain, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant, that is, he has no authority over us, and we owe no obedience to him."

April 23

Way Down in Georgia

In Georgia, first as lieutenant-governor, and then as governor, Sir James Wright had administered affairs since 1760. The colony was not represented in the first continental congress, and the first choice of delegates to the second congress was made in a manner not truly representative. But by the spring of 1775, the patriot party began to make itself felt. Six hundred pounds of powder were taken from the magazine at Savannah, a council of safety was appointed, and a ship carrying two hundred and fifty barrels of powder was seized. On the sixth of July, the provincial congress adopted the "association" and, on the seventh, chose, in a formal manner, delegates to the congress at Philadelphia. Governmental authority now passed into the hands of the provincial congress. Upon the appearance of British ships at Tybee, the governor was seized and confined to his house by a party of volunteers led by James Habersham and acting under authority of the committee of safety. In the following

June 22, 1775

July 10

January 18, 1776

February 11

month, Wright escaped to the "Scarborough" whence he reported that Georgia was "totally under the influence of the Carolina people." A projected attack on Savannah failed and Wright returned to England. Other crown officials either fled or were seized by the patriots. A temporary constitution that the provincial congress had framed in January was adopted on the fifteenth of April and Archibald Bulloch was chosen president and commander-in-chief.

The Annual Inventory

The situation at the end of 1775 may be outlined as follows: The British were closely invested at Boston; Washington was steadily transforming his volunteers into a continental army, collecting supplies, and preparing for active operations in the spring; Montgomery and Arnold had met with disastrous defeat in Canada and the suffering survivors of their army were in peril. But from Maine to Georgia the people were demanding redress of grievances and preparing to fight if driven to that extremity. Trade, commerce, and industry were disorganized and legal government was at a standstill. In every colony, revolutionary organizations had sprung into existence and assumed control of affairs, expecting and receiving obedience and support. The continental congress at Philadelphia was slowly framing a national government. What was to be the outcome of it all no one knew and many hardly dared to think. Only one thing was certain; no matter how serious the crisis, the Americans would not yield and, if concession came at all, it must come from Great Britain. That there would be such concession, few who knew the temper of the governing class in Great Britain believed.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST ATTEMPT UPON THE SOUTH

Gubernatorial Advice

IN October, 1775, the British government resolved to send out an expedition to subjugate the southern colonies. "Let it not be entirely forgot," wrote Governor Campbell of South Carolina, "that the king has dominions in this part of America. What defence can they make? Three regiments, a proper detachment of artillery, with a couple of good frigates, some small craft, and a bomb ketch, would do the whole business here, and go a great way to reduce Georgia and North Carolina to a sense of their duty. Charleston is the fountain head from whence all violence flows; stop that, and the rebellion in this part of the continent will soon be at an end." Governor Martin of North Carolina had already promised that with arms, artillery, ammunition, money, a military commission for himself, and two regiments he would, with the aid of the Highlanders and other loyalists, recover every colony south of Pennsylvania.

Parker and Cornwallis

In the following winter, a fleet of forty-three sail and a force of about twenty-five hundred men were gathered at Cork under Sir Peter Parker and Lord Charles Cornwallis, earl and lieutenant-general. On the thirteenth of February, the fleet put to sea, but a storm drove many of the vessels back. After a long delay and a tempestuous voyage, the fleet reached the coast of the Carolinas in May.

Clinton Sent to the South

Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton was sent southward with part of the British squadron at Boston. On the fourth of February, he appeared in the harbor of New

York. If Clinton had any designs upon the city, which he probably did not, they were frustrated by the arrival, on the same day, of a force of Connecticut militia under General Charles Lee. While in the harbor, Clinton met the two Carolina governors who seem to have come northward for that purpose. Taking Campbell and Martin with him, Clinton cruised southward, touching at Norfolk. At Cape Fear, he awaited the arrival of Parker and Cornwallis. The first active operations were to have been in North Carolina; that part of the plan was wrecked by the rout of the Highlanders at Moore's Creek Bridge. While waiting, Clinton therefore confined himself to sending out reconnoitering parties, one of which captured a small fort at Brunswick, fifteen miles up the river.

February 11

Clinton's Instructions

Parker's fleet arrived at Cape Fear on the third of May. Clinton now received instructions to proclaim pardon to all but "the principal instigators of the rebellion, to dissolve provincial congresses and committees of safety, to restore the regular administration of justice, to arrest the persons and destroy the property of all who should refuse to give satisfactory tests of their obedience." He was, at his own discretion, to proceed to Virginia or to South Carolina, "to seize the persons and destroy the property of rebels;" if to Carolina, he was first to reduce Charles Town as a prelude to an attack on Savannah. Yielding to the solicitations of Lord Campbell, he decided to make his first attempt on Charles Town.

Lee is Sent South

After General Lee's seeming success in foiling Clinton at New York, he had been selected by congress for the command in Canada, but this arrangement was soon revoked and Lee was put in command of the newly created southern department that included all the colonies south of Maryland. Lee set out from New York on the seventh of March, but he journeyed so leisurely that the enemy would have met with little resistance had not the South Carolinians been active in their own behalf. In May he was in Virginia, "ridding the country of tories and trying to find out where Parker intended to land." By early June he was in command at Charles Town.

1776

Charles Town Harbor

Charles Town was by nature admirably fitted for defense. Then as now, the coast was fringed by a series of low, sandy islands, on the interior side of which lay an impassable labyrinth of salt marshes and narrow serpentine creeks. Two of these islands, Sullivan and Morris, form natural fortresses for the harbor, and have become famous in the annals of warfare. Sullivan Island, on the north side of the entrance to the harbor, is about four miles in length and is separated from Long Island at the northeastward by a narrow inlet said to have been, at that time, ordinarily fordable at low water. On Sullivan Island, Fort Sullivan had been begun as early as the preceding January, and defensive works had been undertaken at other strategic points.

General Lee at Charles Town

On the thirty-first of May, President Rutledge learned that a large fleet of British vessels had been seen about twenty miles north of Charles Town bar. He at once ordered out the militia, visited the fortifications with General Armstrong whom congress had sent down from Pennsylvania, and took every possible step to insure a good defense. Five days later, General Lee arrived. According to the reputation that had preceded him, Lee was a military genius. He had, indeed, had much experience. He had a commission in the British army at the age of eleven and had fought in America, Portugal, Poland, and elsewhere. "The soldier whom the Mohawk warriors had admitted to smoke in their councils and had adopted under an Indian name signifying 'Boiling Water,' who had served in the famous campaigns of Europe, commanded Cossacks, fought with Turks, talked with Frederick the Great, and had been aide-de-camp to the King of Poland, could not but be regarded as a prodigious acquisition to the patriot cause." In fact, he was a man of brilliant talents and his presence did much to excite the public ardor, being worth, says Moultrie in his *Memoirs*, a reinforcement of a thousand men. Unfortunately, he was meddlesome, vain, and egotistical, and far more anxious for his own glory than for the interests of the cause he served.

1776

Fort Sullivan

Lee at first disapproved of the plan for defending Sullivan Island. He declared that the unfinished fort "could not hold out half an hour;" and "that the platform was but a slaughtering stage." He wished to abandon the island entirely, but Rutledge refused to consent to that, declaring that he would cut off his right arm before he would give such an order. The fort in question was square, with a bastion at each angle, and was intended for a garrison of about a thousand men. It was built of soft palmetto logs, laid one upon the other in two parallel rows about sixteen feet apart, "bound together at intervals with timber dovetailed and bolted with logs," thereby forming a series of pens that were filled with sand. Only the southeast and southwest curtains and bastions had been finished. Elsewhere, but little work had been done. It mounted thirty-one cannons, including a number of 18- and 26-pounders. The troops intended for its defense numbered four hundred and thirty-five men, of whom thirty-six were sick and unfit for duty.

Colonel Moultrie

Will. Moultrie

The fort was in command of Colonel William Moultrie, a veteran of the Cherokee war. Of easy manners and careless disposition, he was a poor disciplinarian and lacked the soldierly characteristics of promptness and punctuality. He neglected, for example, to obey General Lee's repeated orders to construct a flèche and screens to protect the garrison from an enfilading fire from any vessels that might succeed in penetrating to the harbor. Notwithstanding these defects of temperament, he was

1776 an able and gallant officer in action, possessed indomitable spirit, and had an easy confidence that now proved to be of the highest value.

Other Defenses

But Fort Sullivan was not the sole reliance of the South Carolina patriots. Fortifications were constructed on the southern side of the harbor, on Haddrell Point, on James Island, and elsewhere. Stores and warehouses along the wharves were torn down so as not to interfere with the fire from the line of earthworks along East Bay, window-weights were cast into musket-balls, the streets were barricaded, and a force of about six thousand five hundred men, including two regiments from North Carolina, was collected to oppose the enemy.

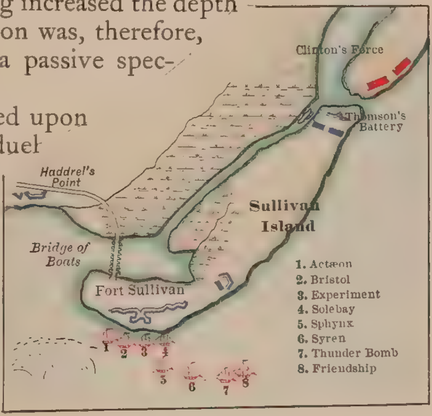
Clinton's Plan

On the seventh of June, the British frigates crossed the bar and anchored in what was known as Five Fathom Hole. On the next day, a proclamation was sent in by a flag of truce warning the people of the miseries of civil war, exhorting them to return to their allegiance, and promising free pardon to all who should submit. On the tenth, the flagship "Bristol," after considerable difficulty, got over the bar and was soon joined by the remainder of the fleet. About three thousand soldiers and marines were then landed on Long Island, it being Clinton's intention thence to pass the inlet to Sullivan Island and to take the fort from the rear. To guard against this danger, the American engineer, Captain De Brahme, had erected breastworks on the northeastern point of Sullivan Island. These works mounted two cannons and were defended by about seven hundred and eighty men under Colonel Thomson.

The Attack on Fort Sullivan

On the twenty-eighth of June, the British fleet, excepting the "Thunder Bomb" and a vessel left to guard it, sailed within easy range of the fort whereupon the garrison opened fire. The vessels anchored in two lines and began a heavy bombardment. Meanwhile, Clinton, with two thousand regulars and six or seven hundred boatmen and marines, marched down Long Island flanked on the right by a schooner and a sloop and on the left by a flotilla of armed boats from the fleet.

But Thomson's two cannons drove back the flotilla and Clinton's men found that the inlet was impassable, easterly winds having increased the depth of the water. Clinton was, therefore, obliged to remain a passive spectator of the battle.



The Attack on Sullivan Island

Pounding the Fleet

All now depended upon the outcome of the duel between the fleet and the fort. The British poured in frightful broadsides, but their shot did little injury to the soft, spongy palmetto logs, while the 13-inch shells from the bomb-vessel a mile and a half away fell into a morass within the fort or into the loose sand and did little damage. About twelve o'clock, three of the smaller vessels attempted to take up a position nearer the cove of Sullivan Island for the purpose of enfilading the front platforms and cutting off communication between the island and the mainland. Owing to Moultrie's failure to carry out Lee's order, this maneuver would, if successful, have resulted in inevitable disaster for the Americans. But the three vessels ran upon the shoal on which Fort Sumter stands. Two of them succeeded in getting off but gave up their attempt, while the third, the "Actæon" of twenty-eight guns, stuck fast. Meanwhile, the remaining vessels, especially the largest two at which, by Moultrie's orders, the Americans directed most of their fire, were in sore distress. Early in the action, the spring of the "Bristol's" cable was shot away and the flagship swung into such a position that she was raked fore and aft. At one time, her quarter-deck "was cleared of every person but the Commodore;" her captain was mortally wounded, Parker himself was injured, and more than a

1776 hundred men were killed or wounded. The loss on board the "Experiment" was almost as great.

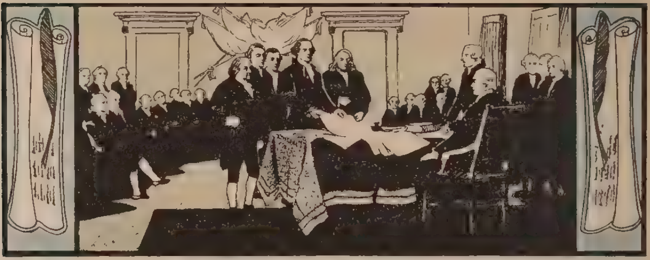
In the Fort The garrison of the fort did not escape unharmed. A number were killed and wounded and the heavy broadsides sometimes made the slight fortification tremble to its foundations. When the flag-staff was shot away and the flag fell outside the fort, Sergeant Jasper, under a heavy fire, leaped down from an embrasure, recovered the flag, and, after fixing it to a sponge-staff, planted it once more upon the merlon. Ammunition began to fail and Moultrie was reduced to firing his guns at intervals of ten minutes, but, within an hour, Rutledge sent five hundred pounds with a note wishing "Honor and Victory" to Moultrie and "our worthy countrymen with you," and adding: "Do not make too free with your cannon." About the same time, General Lee arrived at the fort and aimed two or three cannons, but, after remaining about a quarter of an hour, withdrew, saying to Moultrie: "I see you are doing very well here—you have no occasion for me—I will go up to town again." In his *Memoirs*, Moultrie says: "We opened our temporary gate to admit General Lee. Several of the officers as well as myself were smoking our pipes and giving orders; but we laid them down when he came in." Of the incident, Lee later wrote: "I had no idea that so much coolness and intrepidity could be displayed by a collection of raw recruits as I was witness to."

Fort Moultrie Toward sunset, the firing slackened and, at about half-past nine o'clock, it ceased altogether. About eleven o'clock, the British fleet, with the exception of the "Actæon" which was still aground, returned to their former anchorage. In the following morning, the "Actæon" was fired and deserted by her crew. Men from the fort boarded her, loaded their boats from her stores, fired British guns at British ships from the deck of a burning British vessel, and withdrew in safety. When, a few minutes later, the magazine exploded, the pillar of smoke took the form of the palmetto—at least some Carolinians thought it did. The British loss was more than two hundred men; that of the Americans was twelve killed and twenty-five wounded. The victorious heroes were not forgotten. On the thirtieth of June, the garrison was reviewed and praised by Lee and, on the same day, the second regiment received a richly embroidered pair of silken colors from the women of Charles Town. Four days later, while the continental congress was considering the momentous declaration, Rutledge visited the garrison and, taking a sword from his own belt, presented it to Sergeant Jasper. When congress heard the news, it voted thanks to Lee, Moultrie, Thomson, and the officers and men under their command, while "South Carolina, by her president and common voice, spontaneously decreed that the post on Sullivan's Island should, for all future time, be known as Fort Moultrie." 1776

The Fruit

Thus ended what was unquestionably one of the most important and decisive battles of the war. Says Bancroft: It saved not a post, but the state. It kept seven regiments away from New York for two months; it gave security to Georgia, and three years' peace to Carolina; it dispelled throughout the South the dread of British superiority; it drove the loyalists into obscurity. After lingering off the coast for several weeks, the British forces sailed northward in transports under convoy of a single frigate, "the rest of the fleet being under the necessity of remaining still longer to refit." In London, *Sir Peter Parker's New War Song* was published:

> For the rebels and I
> Have been pretty nigh,
> Faith, almost too nigh for Sir Peter.



CHAPTER XXII

INDEPENDENCE

Lest We Forget

WHILE the American revolution had long been inevitable, it did not spring from a desire to separate from Great Britain. Despite their independence of spirit, the colonists had a deep reverence and a sincere love for the British empire, they rejoiced in its power and glory, they looked to it for aid and protection—as much then as do Australia and Canada today. Though they rebelled, it was to safeguard their rights as Englishmen, not because they wished to found an independent state. They had fought, but only to preserve the rights and privileges to which, "by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the *English* Constitution, and the several Charters or Compacts" they were entitled.

Speculative Prophecy

Long before the colonists took up arms, there had been prophecies to the effect that, owing to the distance between England and America and to diverging interests, the colonies would one day throw off their allegiance; we sometimes hear such prophecies regarding the present British colonies. As early as 1705, there appeared in an English print the prediction that "The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England and set up a government of their own." Jeremiah Dummer, the defender of the second Massachusetts charter, heard English noblemen say that, if not crushed, the colonies would in time declare their independence. In 1750, Turgot, the great French statesman and philosopher, said: "Colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen, as soon as America can take care of itself, it will do what Carthage did." Ten years later, Thomas Pownall expressed the opinion that the independence of the colonies was near at hand. Such expressions were, however, mere speculations based upon the seeming natural course of events.

Cumulative Testimony

Prior to the fateful Lexington and Concord day, there was hardly a man of prominence in America who desired or expected a separation from England. The testimony to this effect is overwhelming. Hutchinson, the Tory historian of Massachusetts, wrote: "An empire, separate or distinct from Britain, no man then [1758] alive expected or desired to see." In October, 1774, Washington wrote that "no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America." In the following March, Franklin assured the earl of Chatham that he had never "heard in any Conversation from any Person, drunk or sober, the least Expression of a wish for a Separation, or a Hint that such a Thing would be advantageous to America." Thirty-seven days before the war began, John Adams pronounced the assertion that the inhabitants panted after independence "as great a slander on the province as ever was committed to writing." Years after the conflict was over, Thomas Jefferson declared that before the nineteenth of April, 1775, "I never had heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain."

The Dawn of the Great Idea

Even after blood had been spilled on Lexington Green, there was no immediate general movement in favor of independence. Some began to see that that was the only logical outcome of the struggle, but the vast majority still looked forward to reconciliation. The question began to be more and more discussed, but few were bold enough openly to declare their desire for a separation. After Lexington and Concord, Joseph Warren said: "The next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between us ends." After Bunker Hill, Franklin wrote to an English friend: "It has been with much difficulty that we have carried

July 7

1775 another humble petition to the Crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them forever." On the other hand, most of the expressions on the subject, during the spring, summer, and fall of 1775, were decidedly against separation. Even after Bunker Hill, Jefferson wrote: "We mean not to dissolve that union; . . . necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure."

The Morning Mists

Declarations expressing abhorrence of the idea of independence were made by many town-meetings and many committees of correspondence in various parts of the country. In some of the most violent rebel communities expressions in favor of separation were regarded with extreme disfavor and measures were taken for suppressing them. In May, 1775, some of the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia warned John Adams against saying anything in favor of independence, assuring him that the doctrine was as unpopular in the middle states as the stamp act itself. Hundreds of resolutions avowing the necessity of maintaining liberty and the rights of Englishmen were being passed, but the time for resolutions in favor of separation had not yet come. When the continental congress met in May, 1775, reconciliation was still hoped for, as is shown by the instructions to the delegates and by the second petition to the king. Lists of the cannons and public stores belonging to the king were drawn up in order that they, or their equivalent, might be returned when peace was established. Prayers for the good health of the king were still offered in churches and by the chaplains of the rebel army. It is related that the continental troops besieging Boston were so noisy in their celebration of the king's birthday that the British prepared to repel an assault upon the town.

The Rising Sun

Such a state of affairs could not long continue. As the weeks went by and the prospects for reconciliation became more and more remote, discussions became more and more frequent and men began to see clearly. Early in October, Franklin wrote to David Hartley: "I am persuaded that the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying gazettes may soon be made your enemies. Our respect for them will proportionately diminish, and I see clearly we are on the high road to mutual family hatred and detestation. A separation will of course be inevitable." In the same month, General Greene declared that the alternative was separation from Great Britain or subjugation to her. By the beginning of November, congress had heard of the king's contemptuous rejection of the second petition, of the royal proclamation of rebellion, of the hired Hanoverians, and the burning of Falmouth. The effect of these things on the continental congress has been recorded in an earlier chapter. Expressions in favor of independence became more and more frequent. "The die is cast," says a letter from Rhode Island. "The union of the Colonies with Britain is at an end." Thomas Jefferson wrote to John Randolph: "Believe me, dear Sir, there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do. But by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament proposes; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is will alone, which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King."

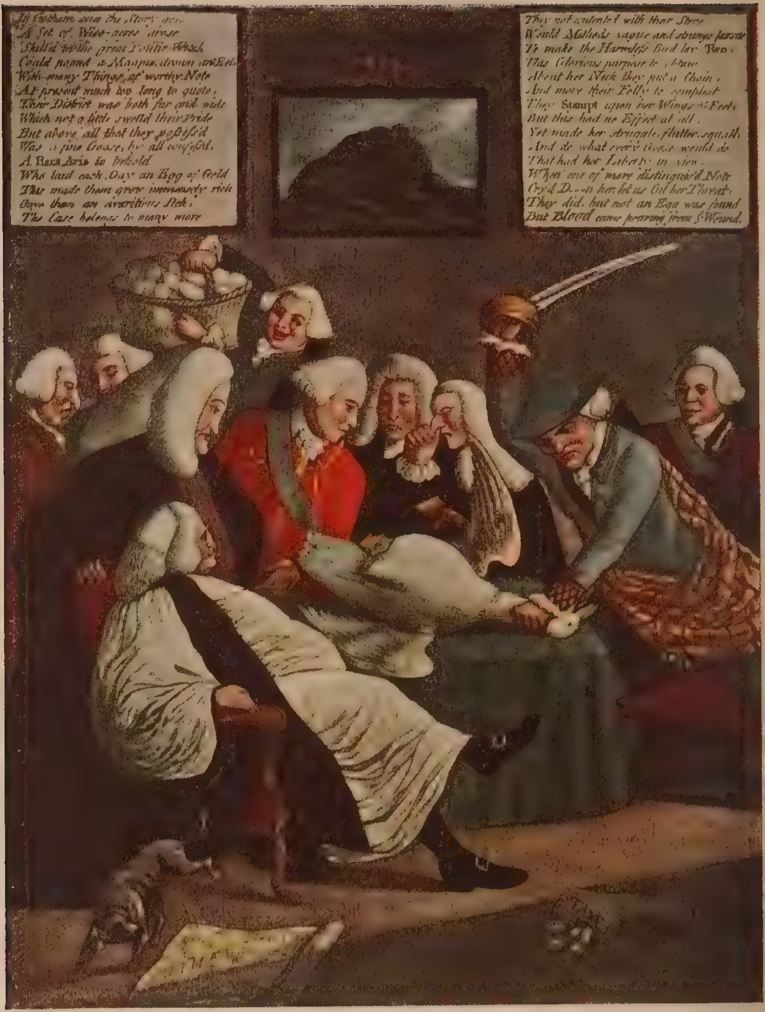
November 27

November 29

The Speech from the Throne

Nevertheless, official action in favor of independence was delayed. In England, this hesitation looked like vacillation, and the ministry was encouraged in the belief that the Americans were not united in their opposition and that they would not continue the contest with the mother country when they were once convinced that the imperial power would be exerted to any extent that might be necessary. In his speech from the throne, the king followed up his August proclamation by declaring that the war in the colonies was "manifestly carried on for the establishment of an American empire," announcing

October 26


In Gotham once the Story goes
A Set of Wise-acres arose
Skill'd in the great Politic Which
Could pound a Magpie, drown an Eel,
With many Things of worthy Note
At present much too long to quote,
Their District was both far and wide
Which not a little swell'd their Pride
But above all that they possess'd
Was a fine Goose, by all confess'd,
A Rara Avis to behold
Who laid each Day an Egg of Gold
This made them grow immensely rich
Gave them an avaritious Itch;
The Case belongs to many more
They not contented with their Store
Would Methods vague and strange pursue
To make the Harmless Bird lay Two.
This Glorious purpose to obtain
About her Neck they put a Chain,
And more their Folly to compleat
They Stampt upon her Wings & Feet,
But this had no Effect at all,
Yet made her struggle, flutter, squall,
And do what every Goose would do
That had her Liberty in view.
When one of more distinguish'd Note
Cry'd D---n her let us Cut her Throat.
They did, but not an Egg was found
But Blood came pouring from ye Wound.

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1775

that he had strengthened the army, increased the navy, "received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance," and proposing pardon for such of "the unhappy and deluded multitude" as might be reclaimed by a display of arms. The opposition members quoted the American leaders against the charge of aiming at independence, but Conway significantly said that they would undoubtedly prefer independence to slavery. By large majorities, however, parliament voted addresses to the king approving rigorous means for suppressing the rebellion and commending the benevolent design of pardon.

A New Colonial Secretary November 10

About this time, important changes were made in the cabinet. Lord Dartmouth, the head of the American department, gave way to one of the "king's friends" and favorites, Lord George Germain, who had been cashiered from the army for cowardice at Minden. He seems to have been saturated with a spirit of hostility to popular rights and was an ardent hater of American ideas. He did not need to use any management to secure parliamentary majorities or popular support, but his appointment served to widen a breach that was already yawning. Samuel Adams could have had no better ally.

Geo: Germain

"Common Sense"

In January, 1776, a pamphlet was published at Philadelphia under the title of *Common Sense*. Its author was an Englishman who

1776 had been in the colonies only about a year. It had a powerful influence in convincing Americans that a complete and irrevocable separation could be the only logical outcome of their struggle. Professor Van Tyne calls it "a firebrand which set aflame the ready political material in America."

The Builder

Thomas Paine's was a strangely checkered career. He had been brought up "in the faith of George Fox and William Penn, the only school in England where he could have learned the principles he was now to assert." As stay-maker, privateer, excise officer, grocer, usher, teacher, and poet, he had not been particularly successful, and he was pitifully poor. But he possessed an active brain and had made the most of his opportunities for cultivating it. Perhaps no writer ever had a greater influence upon the events of his own time than he. Despite his great service to liberty, he lived to be hooted by an American mob. The chief reason for his loss of popularity was a religious work, *The Age of Reason*. For that, he has been pilloried by the public and villified by the sons of patriot sires who lighted their tapers at his torch. Vain, egotistical, eccentric, and possessed of other unlovely traits, he "had genius in his eyes" and America still stands deeply his debtor.

Thomas Paine

The Building

Paine brought with him to America a letter from Benjamin Franklin, and soon became a contributor to *The Pennsylvania Magazine* and then its editor. He quickly threw himself into the patriot cause, which was, he said, "in a great measure the cause of all mankind." At Franklin's suggestion, he began his essay on the desirability of independence. Though "shallow in scholarship," he was "deep in sympathy," and he had the art of striking off phrases that stuck in men's memories. His manuscript was published in a pamphlet of forty-four pages, "addressed to the inhabitants of America." It was announced as "written by an Englishman," but many thought that it was Franklin's work. 1776

Exempli Gratia

The paper was divided into four parts under the headings: "Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution;" "Of Monarchy and hereditary succession;" "Thoughts on the present state of American Affairs;" and "Of the present ability of America, with some miscellaneous reflections." Of these, the last two were the most important. The following extracts will give an idea of the temper of the production:

> The period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the King, and the Continent hath accepted the challenge.
>
> The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. It is not the affair of a City, a County, a Province, or a Kingdom, but of a Continent—of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe. It is not the concern of a day, a year, or an age, posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now.
>
> By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new era for politiks is struck, a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c., prior to the 19th of April, i. e. to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year, which, though proper then, are superseded and useless now.
>
> *Britain* is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor Savages make war upon their families. . . . *Europe*, and not *England*, is the parent country of *America*. This New World hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of *England*, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home pursues their descendants still.
>
> I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this Continent can reap, by being connected with *Great Britain*. . . . Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of Nature cries, 'Tis time to part. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed *England* and *America* is a strong and natural proof that the authority of the one over the other was never the design of Heaven.
>
> A Government of our own is our natural right. . . . O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. *Asia* and *Africa* have long expelled her. *Europe* regards her like a stranger, and *England* hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

1776

Its Effect

John Hancock

The influence of the pamphlet can scarcely be overestimated. "Never," says Frothingham, "was a political appeal more generally welcomed or more cordially endorsed." Edition after edition was published. "May the independent principles of 'Common Sense' be confirmed throughout the United Colonies," became a favorite toast throughout the country. "A pamphlet entitled 'Common Sense' has converted thousands to independence that could not endure the idea before," says *Almon's Remembrancer.* "If you know the author of 'Common Sense,' tell him he has done wonders and worked miracles, made Tories Whigs, and washed blackamores white," wrote a Marylander to the *Pennsylvania Evening Post.* "A few more such flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense,' will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of separation," wrote George Washington.

February 13

The Other Side

Naturally, Paine's *Common Sense* stirred up to reply those opposed to separation. "Cæsar," "Candidus," "Salus Populi," "Cato," "Tiberius," "Cassandra," "Rationalis," et al., flooded the country with pamphlets and filled the newspapers with articles for and against independence. Some of the reasons given for maintaining the connection with England were by no means weak. Were the colonists at all certain of being able to establish a stable government of their own? Might not anarchy break out or colonial jealousies lead to civil war? Might not tyrants arise? Was it not possible that the colonies might escape from England only to fall a prey to France or Spain? Nor were these dangers wholly imaginary, as was demonstrated within a dozen years.

Dorothy Quincy (Mrs. John Hancock)

The Demand of Expediency

By others it was strongly urged that expediency demanded that the independence that existed in fact should exist in name also. To profess allegiance to a king and at the same time to wage war against him was an anomaly that could not be long continued. The war could never be successfully ended without foreign aid, and such assistance could not be obtained so long as the colonists avowed subordination to England. Neither France nor any other European power would form an alliance with rebels who might at any time adjust their quarrel and leave their friends to fight out the war alone. Mediation or foreign alliances must be preceded by a declaration of independence.

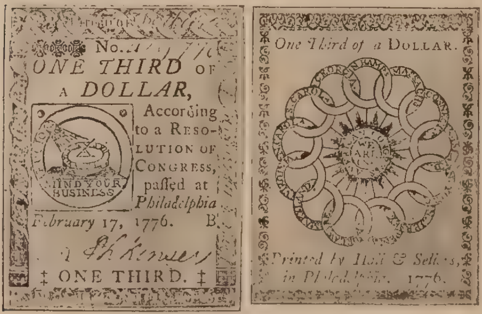
Iridescent Dreams

One of the arguments most frequently used by those desiring such a declaration was that the material wealth and power of the colonies would be enormously increased

1776 by their independence. Bright prophecies, foretelling in glowing terms the trade that would spring up and the increase in population that would result from separation, were indulged in by some writers. The people of that day looked upon these prophecies as glittering fancies, veritable Utopian predictions; we smile as we realize how far their wildest dreams fell short of the reality.

The Leaders

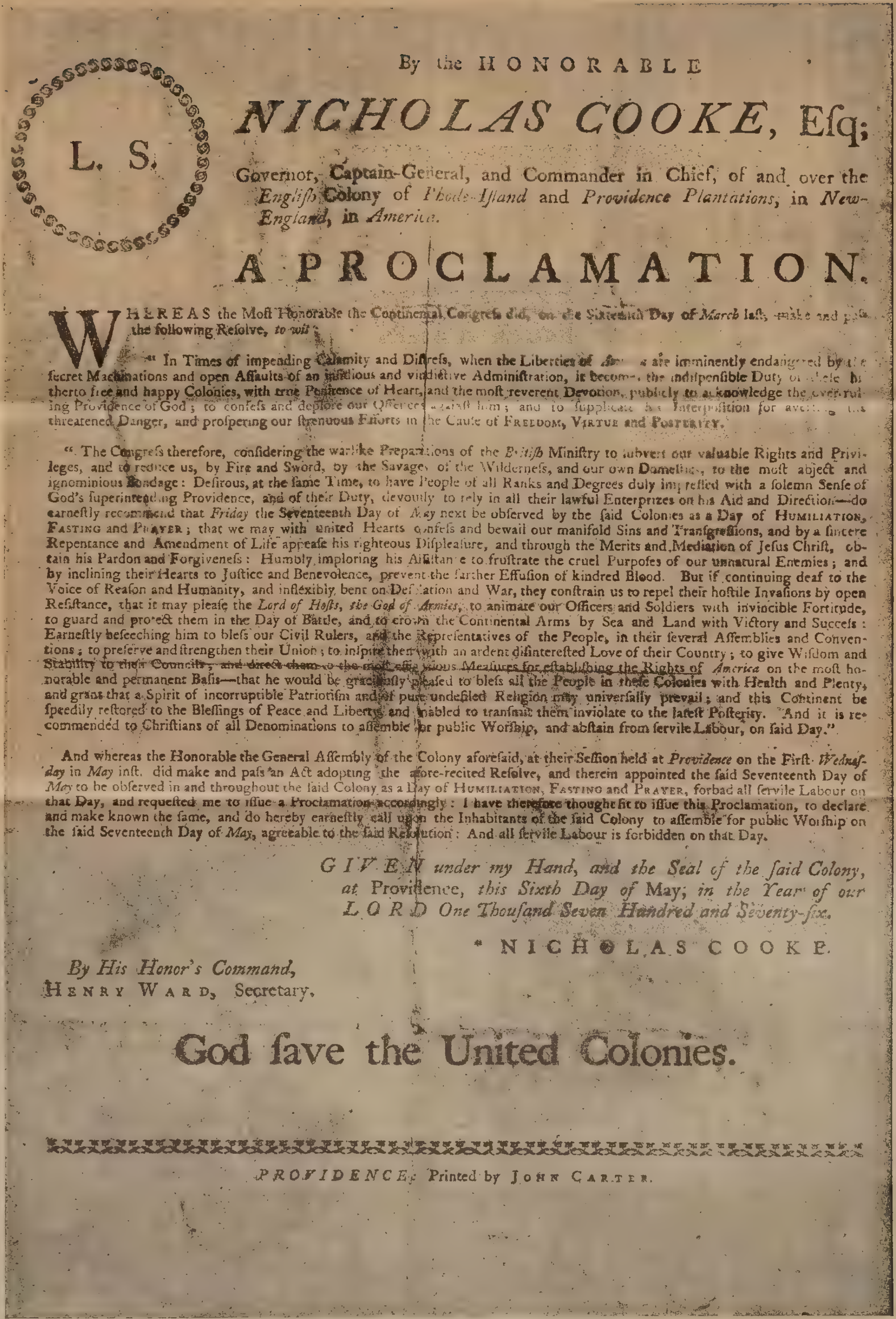
Nevertheless, separation was not to come without a struggle. In some parts of the country there was a reaction against the war, while many of the stanchest patriots like James Wilson, John Dickinson, Edward Rutledge, Robert Morris, John Jay, and the Livingstons were not convinced of the wisdom of immediate separation. Opposition was especially strong at Philadelphia where many, either because they were Quakers and believed in non-resistance or because they were merchants and ship-owners and thus financial losers by the war, were opposed to anything that would tend to prolong the conflict. Working for independence, however, were such men as John and Samuel Adams and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts; Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island; Benjamin Rush and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania; Samuel Chase of Maryland; Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina; and Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington of Virginia.


No.
ONE THIRD OF A DOLLAR,
According to a Resolution of Congress, paſſed at Philadelphia February 17, 1776.
MIND YOUR BUSINESS
ONE THIRD.
One Third of a Dollar.
Printed by Hall & Sellers, in Philadelphia. 1776.

Currency issued by Continental Congress
(One-third dollar, showing both sides)

The Signs of the Times

Various acts of congress, such as inviting Canada to join the union, ordering that the Tories be disarmed, authorizing the equipment of privateers, opening American ports to all countries not



By the HONORABLE

NICHOLAS COOKE, Eſq;

Governor, Captain-General, and Commander in Chief, of and over the *Engliſh* Colony of *Rhode-Iſland* and *Providence Plantations*, in *New-England*, in *America*.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Moſt Honorable the Continental Congreſs did, on the Sixteenth Day of *March* laſt, make and paſs the following Reſolve, *to wit*:

"In Times of impending Calamity and Diſtreſs, when the Liberties of *America* are imminently endangered by the ſecret Machinations and open Aſſaults of an inſidious and vindictive Adminiſtration, it becomes the indiſpenſible Duty of theſe hitherto free and happy Colonies, with true Penitence of Heart, and the moſt reverent Devotion, publicly to acknowledge the over-ruling Providence of God; to confeſs and deplore our Offences againſt him; and to ſupplicate his Interpoſition for averting the threatened Danger, and proſpering our ſtrenuous Efforts in the Cauſe of FREEDOM, VIRTUE and POSTERITY.

"The Congreſs therefore, conſidering the warlike Preparations of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry to ſubvert our valuable Rights and Privileges, and to reduce us, by Fire and Sword, by the Savages of the Wilderneſs, and our own Domeſtics, to the moſt abject and ignominious Bondage: Deſirous, at the ſame Time, to have People of all Ranks and Degrees duly impreſſed with a ſolemn Senſe of God's ſuperintending Providence, and of their Duty, devoutly to rely in all their lawful Enterprizes on his Aid and Direction—do earneſtly recommend that *Friday* the Seventeenth Day of *May* next be obſerved by the ſaid Colonies as a Day of HUMILIATION, FASTING and PRAYER; that we may with united Hearts confeſs and bewail our manifold Sins and Tranſgreſſions, and by a ſincere Repentance and Amendment of Life appeaſe his righteous Diſpleaſure, and through the Merits and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, obtain his Pardon and Forgiveneſs: Humbly imploring his Aſſiſtance to fruſtrate the cruel Purpoſes of our unnatural Enemies; and by inclining their Hearts to Juſtice and Benevolence, prevent the farther Effuſion of kindred Blood. But if continuing deaf to the Voice of Reaſon and Humanity, and inflexibly bent on Deſolation and War, they conſtrain us to repel their hoſtile Invaſions by open Reſiſtance, that it may pleaſe the *Lord of Hoſts, the God of Armies*, to animate our Officers and Soldiers with invincible Fortitude, to guard and protect them in the Day of Battle, and to crown the Continental Arms by Sea and Land with Victory and Succeſs: Earneſtly beſeeching him to bleſs our Civil Rulers, and the Repreſentatives of the People, in their ſeveral Aſſemblies and Conventions; to preſerve and ſtrengthen their Union; to inſpire them with an ardent diſintereſted Love of their Country; to give Wiſdom and Stability to their Councils; and direct them to the moſt efficacious Meaſures for eſtabliſhing the Rights of *America* on the moſt honorable and permanent Baſis—that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to bleſs all the People in theſe Colonies with Health and Plenty, and grant that a Spirit of incorruptible Patriotiſm and of pure undefiled Religion may univerſally prevail; and this Continent be ſpeedily reſtored to the Bleſſings of Peace and Liberty, and enabled to tranſmit them inviolate to the lateſt Poſterity. And it is recommended to Chriſtians of all Denominations to aſſemble for public Worſhip, and abſtain from ſervile Labour, on ſaid Day."

And whereas the Honorable the General Aſſembly of the Colony aforeſaid, at their Seſſion held at *Providence* on the Firſt *Wedneſday* in *May* inſt. did make and paſs an Act adopting the afore-recited Reſolve, and therein appointed the ſaid Seventeenth Day of *May* to be obſerved in and throughout the ſaid Colony as a Day of HUMILIATION, FASTING and PRAYER, forbad all ſervile Labour on that Day, and requeſted me to iſſue a Proclamation accordingly: I have therefore thought fit to iſſue this Proclamation, to declare and make known the ſame, and do hereby earneſtly call upon the Inhabitants of the ſaid Colony to aſſemble for public Worſhip on the ſaid Seventeenth Day of *May*, agreeable to the ſaid Reſolution: And all ſervile Labour is forbidden on that Day.

GIVEN under my Hand, and the Seal of the ſaid Colony,
at Providence, *this Sixth Day of* May; *in the Year of our*
LORD One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Seventy-ſix.

NICHOLAS COOKE.

By His Honor's Command,
HENRY WARD, Secretary.

God ſave the United Colonies.

PROVIDENCE: Printed by JOHN CARTER.

GOVERNOR COOKE'S FAST-DAY PROCLAMATION
(THE FIRST PROCLAMATION CLOSING WITH THE WORDS "GOD SAVE THE UNITED COLONIES" INSTEAD OF "GOD SAVE THE KING")
From original in collection of Rhode Island Historical Society

1776

subject to the king of Great Britain, and negotiating with foreign powers, gave signs of the impending change; but it was evident that the final step would not be taken until it was authorized by constituents at home. On the ninth of March, "A Lover of Order" proposed through the newspapers that the people should be asked to declare their sentiments regarding separation through their local organizations, while, soon after, members of congress from several of the colonies requested their assemblies to express themselves on the subject.

North Carolina takes the Lead

To North Carolina belongs the honor of first directly empowering her delegates to vote for independence, though the Georgia provincial congress had a week previously authorized its delegates to join in all measures that they might think calculated for the common good. Following the defeat of the North Carolina loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge, patriotic spirit ran high, a large military force was raised, and when the next provincial congress met at Halifax, the members were "all up for independence." The subject was referred to a committee that reported in favor of empowering its delegates in congress "to concur with the Delegates in the other colonies in declaring Independency and forming foreign alliances,—reserving to this Colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a Constitution and Laws for this Colony." On the twelfth of April, this report was unanimously adopted.

April 5

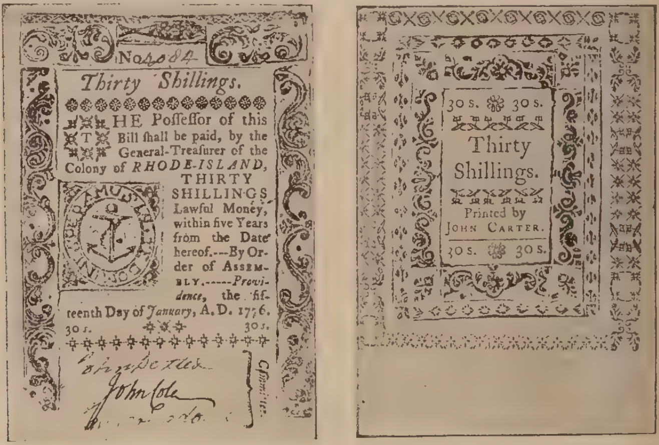
April 4

North Carolina Currency, Issue of April 2, 1776

Rhode Island and Massachusetts

On the fourth of May, Rhode Island followed the example of North Carolina, though the assembly's instructions were so vague that Governor Cooke advised the delegates that by them they were to know that they had power to vote for independence. On the tenth of the same month, the Massachusetts house of representa-

1776 tives called upon the people of the colony to assemble in town-meetings and vote upon the question of whether



No 4084

Thirty Shillings.

THE Poſſeſſor of this Bill ſhall be paid, by the General-Treaſurer of the Colony of *RHODE-ISLAND*, THIRTY SHILLINGS Lawful Money, within five Years from the Date hereof.---By Order of ASSEMBLY.-----*Providence*, the fifteenth Day of *January*, A.D. 1776.

30 *s*. 30 *s*.

John Cole

30 s. 30 s.

Thirty Shillings.

Printed by JOHN CARTER.

30 s. 30 s.

Rhode Island Currency, Issue of January 15, 1776

they would support a declaration of independence should the congress adopt such a measure. The answer was practically a unanimous affirmative. In their town-meetings, the citizens declared that they would defend such a measure with their lives and the remnant of their fortunes.

The Resolution of the Fifteenth of May

On the eighteenth of April, 1776, John Adams wrote: "The passions were never in more lively exercise than they now are from Florida to Canada inclusive." In the continental congress, he introduced a resolution recommending all the colonies to form local governments based on the power of the people. Four days later, it was adopted and a committee appointed to draw up a preamble to go with it. The preamble, prepared by John Adams, was adopted on the fifteenth and printed with the resolution on the sixteenth as follows:

May 6

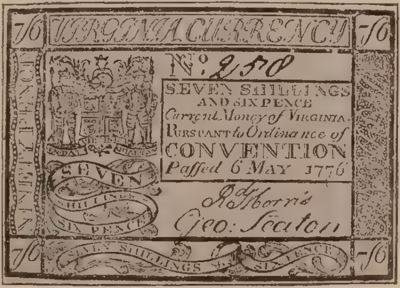
IN CONGRESS, MAY 15, 1776

Whereas his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, has, by a late Act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his Crown: And whereas no answer whatever, to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of grievances and reconciliation with Great Britain, has been, or is likely to be, given; but the whole force of that Kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these Colonies: And whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience for the people of these Colonies *now* to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any Government under the Crown of Great Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of Government exerted under the authority of the people of the Colonies for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions, and cruel depredations of their enemies: Therefore

Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the opinion of the Representatives of the People, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general.

By order of Congress: JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Virginia's Action



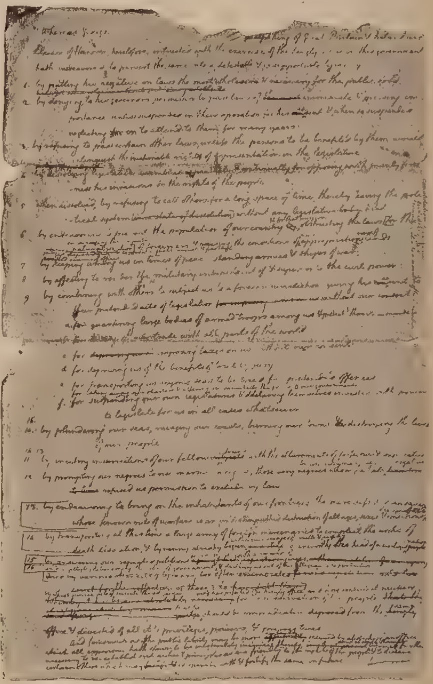
Virginia Currency, Issue of May 6, 1776

In Virginia, Governor Dunmore had been fulminating proclamations from his "floating capitol," threatening servile insurrections and savage warfare. The militia had won their victory at Great Bridge and Norfolk had been burned. An intercepted dispatch from Lord Germain made known the intent of the ministry to carry the war into the Old Dominion. In March, the idea of independence was said to be alarming; in April, the freeholders were instructing their delegates "immediately to cast off the British yoke; and as King George persists in behaving like a tyrant, that they, in their own behalf, renounce allegiance to him forever." The Virginia convention met at Williamsburg on the sixth of May and soon declared that there was no alternative but absolute subjection or total separation and instructed the Virginia delegates in congress "to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states." That evening, in the general enthusiasm evoked by this official action, bells were rung and salutes fired; the British flag was hauled down from above the state-house and replaced by "the Union

May 15

1776

Flag of the American States." In June, the convention adopted a new state constitution and a declaration of rights that was, in many ways, similar to the coming declaration of independence. Virginia's bold action was in brilliant contrast to the action of the middle colonies and had a marked effect on the final issue of the contest.



Page of a Manuscript Draft of a Constitution for Virginia, drawn up by Jefferson in 1776

Lee's Resolutions

In the continental congress, on the seventh of June, in obedience to these instructions and on behalf of the Virginia delegates, Richard Henry Lee moved the following fateful resolutions:

Richard Henry Lee

> That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved.
>
> That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign Alliances.
>
> That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation.

John Adams seconded the resolutions, but action was postponed

A Great Committee

until the next day (Saturday), and then again until Monday, the tenth. At this time, armed loyalists were rising in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; Carleton and Burgoyne were driving the continental army out of Canada; a powerful land and naval force was moving on New York; and Clinton was on his way to Charles Town with Sir Peter Parker and his fleet. On Monday, further postponement of the first resolution was inevitable, for only four delegations had received instructions that could be construed into power to vote for independence, while other delegations had been positively prohibited from taking such action. "It appearing in the course of the debates," says Jefferson, "that the colonies of N. York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1st." But, in order that no time should be lost, a committee was appointed on the next day "to prepare a declaration in conformity to it." This committee was composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. June 11

Thomas Jefferson

At the request of the other members of the committee, the task of writing the declaration was undertaken by Jefferson. Though one of the three youngest men in the congress, no fitter agent could have been selected. Born a member of the Virginia aristocracy, he was then and ever a thorough democrat with an abiding faith in the people. He had been educated at the College of William and Mary, had studied law in the office of George Wythe, and was a student of literature, science, and philosophy. Though of ungainly physique, his face was intelligent and pleasant, his manners elegant, and his conversation fascinating. Throughout his career, he was persistently loyal to the principle of equal and exact justice for all men. So far did he carry his doctrine of equality that his enemies called him "a dreamer," and pronounced him "visionary," and "unsound." Although

1776

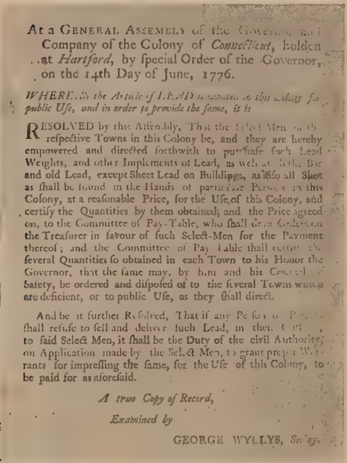
a doctrinaire, he was, at the same time, a skilful politician, and has wielded over his countrymen an influence probably greater than that of any other American. Van Tyne says that "as a common man, he would have been a crank, but he raised idiosyncrasy to the dignity of genius."

The Need of the Hour

Among the attributes that well fitted Jefferson for the task before him was his uncommon literary ability. In the rare art of fusing words and ideas in the white heat of genius, few men have approached him. This was, perhaps, the chief talent needed in the present emergency. Original ideas would have been out of place. America wanted a man with the ability to compress the opinions, passions, prejudices, and misconceptions of the patriot party into striking phrases that would awake an answering note in the American people, to pour "the soul of the continent" into an immortal declaration—and she found him.

Jefferson's Work

Jefferson wrote the declaration without reference to book or pamphlet. When he had completed the draft, he submitted it to Adams and Franklin, requesting their corrections which were made, "two or three only and merely verbal" interlined in their own handwritings. The draft was then adopted by the committee and, on the twenty-eighth of June, a "fair copy," written out by Jefferson, was laid before the congress. After being read, it was laid on the table and congress adjourned until the first of July.



At a GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Governor and Company of the Colony of *Connecticut*, holden at *Hartford*, by ſpecial Order of the Governor, on the 14th Day of June, 1776.

WHEREAS the Article of LEAD is wanted in this Colony for public Uſe, and in order to provide the ſame, it is

RESOLVED by this Aſſembly, That the Select Men of the reſpective Towns in this Colony be, and they are hereby empowered and directed forthwith to purchaſe ſuch Lead Weights, and other Implements of Lead, as well as all the Bar and old Lead, except Sheet Lead on Buildings, as alſo all Shot as ſhall be found in the Hands of particular Perſons in this Colony, at a reaſonable Price, for the Uſe of this Colony, and certify the Quantities by them obtained; and the Price agreed on, to the Committee of Pay-Table, who ſhall draw Orders on the Treaſurer in favour of ſuch Select-Men for the Payment thereof; and the Committee of Pay Table ſhall certify the ſeveral Quantities ſo obtained in each Town to his Honor the Governor, that the ſame may, by him and his Council of Safety, be ordered and diſpoſed of to the ſeveral Towns which are deficient, or to public Uſe, as they ſhall direct.

And be it further Reſolved, That if any Perſon or Perſons ſhall refuſe to ſell and deliver ſuch Lead, in their Cuſtody, to ſaid Select Men, it ſhall be the Duty of the civil Authority, on Application made by the Select Men, to grant proper Warrants for impreſſing the ſame, for the Uſe of this Colony, to be paid for as aforeſaid.

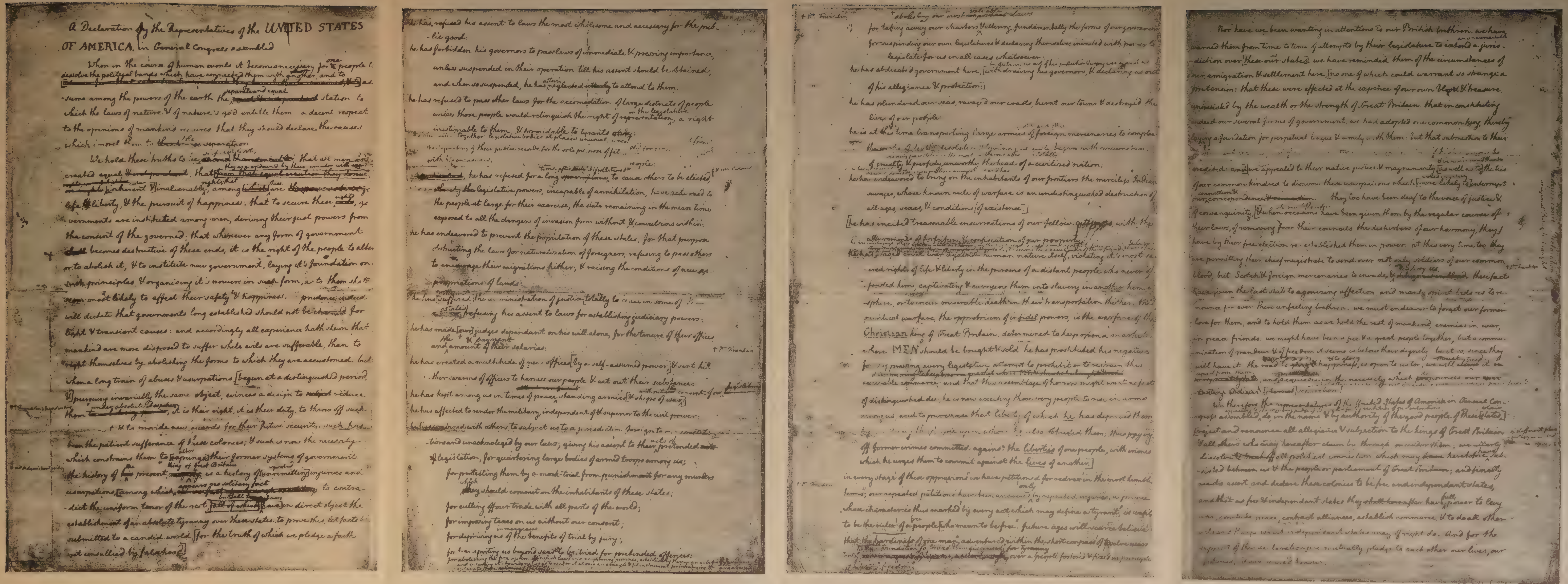
A true Copy of Record,

Examined by

GEORGE WYLLYS, *Sec'ry.*

Resolution of General Assembly of Connecticut to purchase Lead

Meanwhile, the colonies that hitherto had not acted on the subject were considering the question of independ-



Jefferson's Rough Draft of the Declaration of Independence

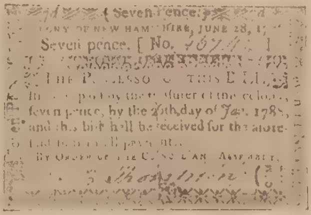
(With amendments by John Adams and Benjamin Franklin)

From photograph of the original deposited in the Department of State, Washington

1776

Connecticut and New Hampshire

ence. The radicals were greatly aided in their work by the arrival of authentic news that the king had obtained large numbers of German mercenaries to aid in crushing the rebellious colonies. On the fourteenth of June, Connecticut and, on the fifteenth, New Hampshire instructed their delegates in favor of independence. New Hampshire even went so far as to pronounce herself "free and independent of the crown." In these two colonies, the act was purely formal, but in some other colonies the contest was more serious.


New Hampshire Currency, Issue of June 28, 1776

New York

In New York, there was great danger from without and bitter strife within. The provincial congress decided to refer the question of forming a new government, in accordance with the congressional resolution of the fifteenth of May, to the people for decision and ordered an election for a new congress to meet not later than the second Monday in July. For weary weeks, the New York delegates at Philadelphia vainly begged for instructions on the great question. On the eleventh of June, the provincial congress sent the chilling message that they were not authorized to vote for independence and that, as measures had been taken to establish regular government, "it would be imprudent to require the sentiments of the people relative to the question of Independence, lest it should create division, and have an unhappy influence on the other."

New Jersey

In New Jersey, Governor Franklin convoked the prorogued assembly, but the provincial congress voted that the proclamation was in contempt and violation of the resolve of congress of the fifteenth of May and "ought not to be obeyed." The provincial congress confined the governor to his house and referred the case to the continental congress. That body directed that he be sent a prisoner to Connecticut where "he would be cap-

1776

SIX POUNDS
298
THIS BILL of SIX POUNDS Proclamation, is emitted by a LAW of the Colony of NEW-JERSEY, passed in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of his Majesty King GEORGE the Third. Dated MARCH 25, 1776.
Six Pounds.
Rob Smith
Jn Johnston
John Smyth
NEW-JERSEY Six Pounds.
Printed by ISAAC COLLINS.

New Jersey Currency, Issue of March 25, 1776

able of doing less mischief than in New Jersey." On the twenty-second of June, a new set of New Jersey delegates to congress was chosen, "all independent souls," and authorized to join others in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain.

Pennsylvania

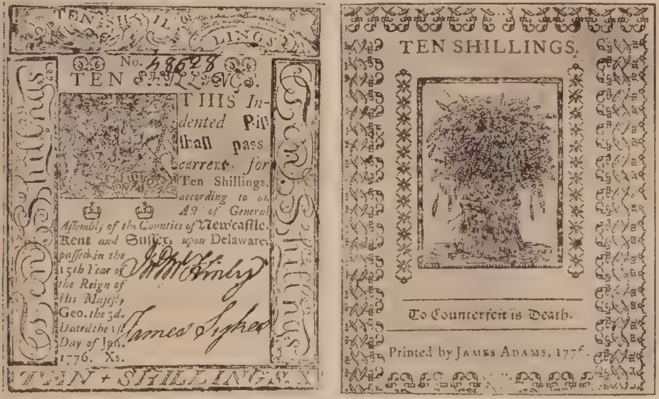
Nowhere was there more heat than in Pennsylvania where the proprietary party was in combination with Quakers and Tories and all were active in opposition to the revolutionary movement. Five days after the adoption of the resolution of the fifteenth of May, a great public meeting was held in the state-house yard. The resolution of congress and the assembly's loyalist instructions to the delegates were read. The resolution was received with cheers and the instructions were unanimously declared to have a "dangerous tendency to withdraw this Province from that happy union with the other Colonies, which we consider both our glory and protection." This great demonstration stirred the people of the province, and the assembly yielded to the popular demand. On the eighth of June, the delegates were authorized to concur in further compacts between the colonies and in measures promoting the interests and safety of America. The irresolution of the assembly on this and other matters caused great dissatisfaction. The Philadelphia committee called upon the commissioners of the several counties to send deputies to arrange for a convention for the purpose of establishing a new

1776

government on the authority of the people only. On the eighteenth of June, the conference was held at Carpenters' Hall; on the twenty-fourth, it called a convention and expressed a determination to concur in a declaration of independence.

Delaware

On the fourteenth of June, the Delaware assembly authorized their delegates to concur with the other delegates in forming such compacts between the united colonies and adopting such other measures as should be judged necessary to promote the liberty of America. On the next day, it continued in office all who had exercised authority in the name of the king, "until a new Government shall be formed, agreeable to the Resolution of Congress of the fifteenth of May last."


TEN SHILLINGS
No. 48628
TEN SHILLINGS.
THIS Indented Bill shall pass current for Ten Shillings, according to an Act of General Assembly of the Counties of New-castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, passed in the 15th Year of the Reign of His Majesty Geo. the 3d. Dated the 1st Day of Jan. 1776. Xs.
Wm McKinly
James Sykes
TEN SHILLINGS. X
Shillings
TEN SHILLINGS.
To Counterfeit is Death.
Printed by JAMES ADAMS, 1776.

Delaware Currency, Issue of January 1, 1776

Maryland

The independence and actual supremacy of the Maryland convention were noted in an earlier chapter. On the twenty-eighth of April, Governor Eden wrote to his brother: "You need be under no concern about me. I am well supported and not obnoxious to any unless it be some of your infernal independents, who are in league with the Bostonians." A month later, the provincial government renewed its instructions against independence and resolved not to establish a government on authority of the people, as recommended by the congressional

May 21

resolution of the fifteenth of May. Richard Henry Lee wrote that "the proprietary colonies do certainly obstruct and perplex the American machine." Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, who had just returned from Canada, and other popular leaders urged the convention "to take the sense of the people." The other colonies were impatient for Maryland to act, but the convention felt that it had not been empowered to declare for independence. It therefore called back its deputies from Philadelphia and appealed directly to the freemen of Maryland. The result of the meetings held in the counties was much like that of the Massachusetts towns and, on the twenty-first of June, the convention assembled at Annapolis; on the twenty-fourth, Eden, by the advice of the convention and as already related, boarded a British man-of-war; on the twenty-eighth, on motion of Charles Carroll, the convention rescinded its instructions against independence and authorized its deputies in the continental congress to vote for the declaration. On the third of July, the convention put on record "A Declaration of the Delegates of Maryland" in which they affirmed that "the King of Great Britain has violated his compact with this people, and they owe no allegiance to him."

IN FIDE ET IN BELLO FORTE

Coat of Arms of Charles Carroll of Carrollton

South Carolina

On the twenty-third of March, the provincial congress of South Carolina gave its delegates to the continental congress power to agree to any measure that should be judged "necessary for the defence, security, interest, or welfare of this colony in particular and of America in general." But as the idea of independence was negatived in the preamble to the constitution that was reported on the following day, the instructions could hardly be construed as authorizing the delegates to commit the colony to a declaration of independence. "There can be little doubt," says McCrady, "that the sense of the province was opposed to any such action."

Moving Forward

Meanwhile, the general congress had adopted several measures that presupposed independence. On the eleventh of June, in line with Lee's third resolution, it was voted that a committee be appointed "to prepare and digest the form of a Confederation to be entered into between these Colonies." This committee was composed of one delegate from each colony and included Samuel Adams, Stephen Hopkins, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, John Dickinson, and Edward Rutledge. On the twelfth, another committee, consisting of Dickinson, John Adams, Franklin, Harrison, and Robert Morris, was chosen "to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to Foreign Powers." Twelve days later, congress "Resolved, That all persons abiding within any of the United Colonies, and deriving protection from the laws of the same, owe allegiance to the said laws, and are members of such Colony," and that all such persons "who shall levy war against any of the said Colonies, or be adherent to the King of Great Britain, or others the enemies of the said Colonies, or any of them, within the same, giving him or them aid and comfort, are guilty of treason against such colony."

Our Colossus on the Floor

The first of July was the day set for the consideration of the great question. After some preliminary business, congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole "to take into consideration the Resolution respecting Independency." After Benjamin Harrison had taken the chair, the new delegates from New Jersey asked to hear the subject discussed. "All was silence," says John Adams; "no one would speak; all eyes were turned upon me. Mr. Edward Rutledge came to me and said, laughing, 'Nobody will speak but you on this subject. You have all the topics so ready, that you must satisfy the gentlemen from New Jersey.'" Others also insisted that he "must recapitulate the arguments." Somewhat embarrassed, Adams began what he later described as his not "very bright exordium," and then settled down to

1776 "simple reason and plain common sense." As we have no report of his speech, we cannot tell what he said, but he seems to have spoken effectively. Jefferson later described him as "our Colossus on the floor" and says that "he was not graceful, nor elegant, nor remarkably fluent, but he came out occasionally with a power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats."

Dickinson in Reply

Dickinson replied to Adams. According to his own report of his speech, written more than six years later, Dickinson did not oppose the principle, but thought the time for independence had not come. The declaration would not strengthen the colonies by one man while it might expose their soldiers to additional cruelties and outrages. When the outcome of the war was so uncertain, the country ought not to be committed to an alternative to recede from which would be infamy and to persist in which might be destruction. Foreign aid could be obtained only by successes in the field, and before such an irrevocable step was taken the disposition of the great powers ought to be ascertained. The formation of a stable government and an agreement upon the terms of confederation ought to precede the assumption of a place among the nations.

The Resolution of Independence

After Adams had replied and others had spoken, a vote was taken upon Lee's first resolution. Nine colonies voted for it and Pennsylvania and South Carolina against it. The New York delegates declared themselves in favor of the step, but, as their instructions did not empower them to vote for it, they were excused from voting. Only two delegates, McKean and Read, were present from Delaware, and, as McKean was for and Read against the measure, the vote of that colony was not cast. After the rising of the committee, and at the request of Edward Rutledge who held out the hope that South Carolina would then join in the measure for the sake of unanimity, it was decided to postpone the final vote until the following day.

A Dramatic Climax

In the short interval, there were important changes. Wilson of Pennsylvania decided to support the measure,

1776

while Dickinson and Morris stayed away from the session; thus a majority of the attending delegates of the Quaker colony were for independence. The South Carolina delegation decided, after much hesitation, to vote for the measure and to trust to their constituents for approval of their action. Meanwhile, McKean had sent an express rider for Rodney, another of the Delaware delegates. McKean's messenger found Rodney at Dover, eighty miles away; but, riding post-haste, Rodney reached Philadelphia and, in his riding boots, was brought by McKean into congress just before the vote was taken.

Cæsar Rodney Monument at Dover, Delaware

> The Congress is met; the debate's begun,
> And Liberty lags for the vote of one—
> When into the Hall, not a moment late,
> Walks Cæsar Rodney, the Delegate.

When and How

Thus, when the all-important vote was taken on the second of July, all the colonies except New York, the delegates of which still refrained from voting, voted for the resolution; so far as we know, only three delegates voted against it, Humphreys and Willing of Pennsylvania who, in the convenient absence of Dickinson and Morris, were outvoted by Franklin, Morton, and Wilson; and Read of Delaware who was outvoted by McKean and Rodney. The American colonies were now definitely separated from the British Empire. Logically, our celebration of the "Fourth of July" is two days tardy. That the participants in the work regarded the second as the day of separation is borne out by the fact that, on the third, John Adams wrote to his wife:

> Yesterday, the greatest Question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater perhaps never was nor will be decided among Men. . . . But the day is past—the second Day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable Epoca in the History of America.—I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated as the Day of Deliverance, by solemn Acts of Devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with Pomp and

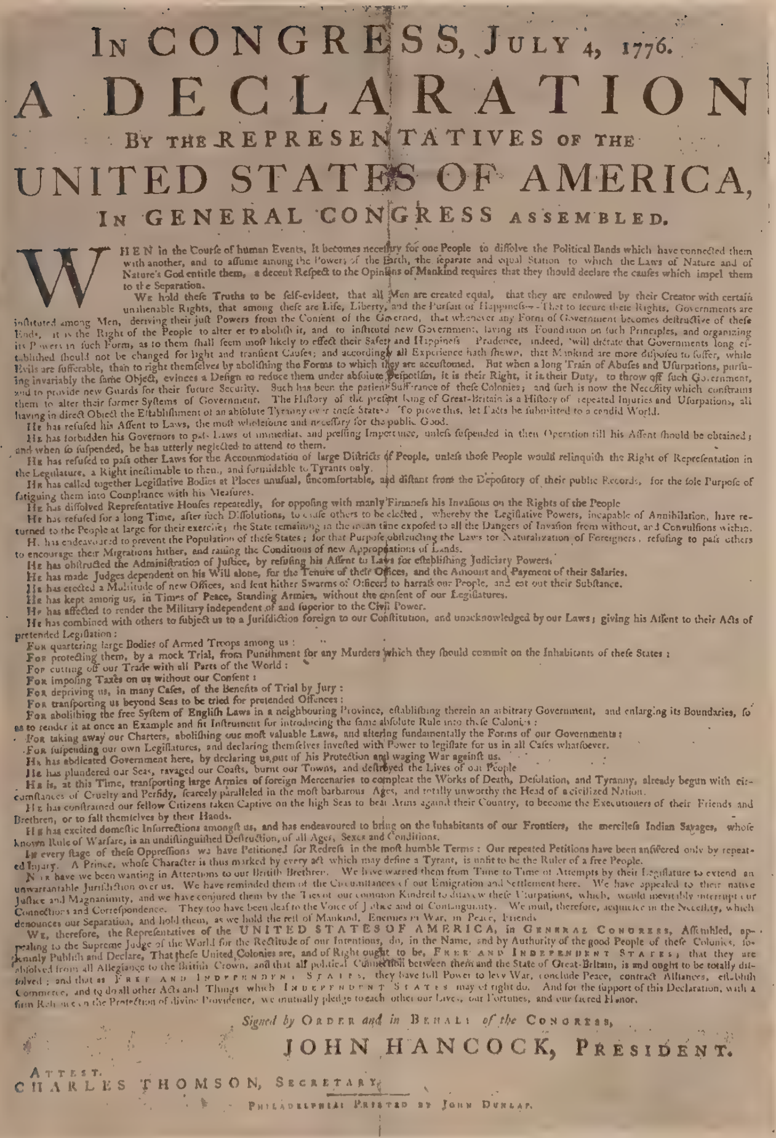
Parade, with Shows, Games, Sports, Guns, Bells, Bonfires, and Illuminations, from one End of this Continent to the other, from this time forward, forever more.

Considering Jefferson's Declaration

On the same day, congress, in committee of the whole, took up Jefferson's declaration and continued its consideration on the third and fourth. There were some "acrimonious criticisms" under which the author writhed in silence. A number of changes were made, the chief of which are thus described by Jefferson: "The pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth making terms with, still haunted the minds of many. For this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender under these censures; for tho' their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others." Most of the changes were slight and verbal and added to the terseness and precision of the declaration.

The Adoption of the Declaration

The debate was continued until the afternoon of the fourth; according to a story that Jefferson later loved to tell, it might have run on indefinitely at any other season of the year. "But the weather was oppressively warm and the room occupied by the deputies was hard by a stable, whence the hungry flies swarmed thick and fierce, alighting on the legs of the delegates and biting hard through their thin silk stockings. Treason was preferable to discomfort," and the delegates finally accepted the declaration before it had been discussed by all of those who wished to speak upon it. Then the committee of the whole arose and Harrison reported the declaration back to congress. The declaration was read again and received the final sanction of the delegates of twelve states "as the justification of the act that established a new nation among the powers of the World." On the following day, attested copies were sent to several assem-



IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Courſe of human Events, it becomes neceſſary for one People to diſſolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the Powers of the Earth, the ſeparate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reſpect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to the Separation.

WE hold theſe Truths to be ſelf-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among theſe are Life, Liberty, and the Purſuit of Happineſs—That to ſecure theſe Rights, Governments are inſtituted among Men, deriving their juſt Powers from the Conſent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes deſtructive of theſe Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to aboliſh it, and to inſtitute new Government, laying its Foundation on ſuch Principles, and organizing its Powers in ſuch Form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their Safety and Happineſs. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient Cauſes; and accordingly all Experience hath ſhewn, that Mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while Evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the Forms to which they are accuſtomed. But when a long Train of Abuſes and Uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame Object, evinces a Deſign to reduce them under abſolute Deſpotiſm, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off ſuch Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of theſe Colonies; and ſuch is now the Neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former Syſtems of Government. The Hiſtory of the preſent King of Great-Britain is a Hiſtory of repeated Injuries and Uſurpations, all having in direct Object the Eſtabliſhment of an abſolute Tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let Facts be ſubmitted to a candid World.

HE has refuſed his Aſſent to Laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public Good.

HE has forbidden his Governors to paſs Laws of immediate and preſſing Importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their Operation till his Aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

HE has refuſed to paſs other Laws for the Accommodation of large Diſtricts of People, unleſs thoſe People would relinquiſh the Right of Repreſentation in the Legiſlature, a Right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

HE has called together Legiſlative Bodies at Places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the Depoſitory of their public Records, for the ſole Purpoſe of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Meaſures.

HE has diſſolved Repreſentative Houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly Firmneſs his Invaſions on the Rights of the People

HE has refuſed for a long Time, after ſuch Diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the Legiſlative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exerciſe; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the Dangers of Invaſion from without, and Convulſions within.

HE has endeavoured to prevent the Population of theſe States; for that Purpoſe obſtructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raiſing the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

HE has obſtructed the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, by refuſing his Aſſent to Laws for eſtabliſhing Judiciary Powers.

HE has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

HE has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and ſent hither Swarms of Officers to harraſs our People, and eat out their Subſtance.

HE has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the conſent of our Legiſlatures.

HE has affected to render the Military independent of and ſuperior to the Civil Power.

HE has combined with others to ſubject us to a Juriſdiction foreign to our Conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Aſſent to their Acts of pretended Legiſlation:

FOR quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

FOR protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Puniſhment for any Murders which they ſhould commit on the Inhabitants of theſe States:

FOR cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

FOR impoſing Taxes on us without our Conſent:

FOR depriving us, in many Caſes, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

FOR tranſporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

FOR aboliſhing the free Syſtem of Engliſh Laws in a neighbouring Province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an Example and fit Inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute Rule into theſe Colonies:

FOR taking away our Charters, aboliſhing our moſt valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

FOR ſuſpending our own Legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves inveſted with Power to legiſlate for us in all Caſes whatſoever.

HE has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War againſt us.

HE has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coaſts, burnt our Towns, and deſtroyed the Lives of our People

HE is, at this Time, tranſporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Deſolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumſtances of Cruelty and Perfidy, ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

HE has conſtrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms againſt their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themſelves by their Hands.

HE has excited domeſtic Inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whoſe known Rule of Warfare, is an undiſtinguiſhed Deſtruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

IN every ſtage of theſe Oppreſſions we have Petitioned for Redreſs in the moſt humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been anſwered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whoſe Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

NOR have we been wanting in Attentions to our Brittiſh Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legiſlature to extend an unwarrantable Juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumſtances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Juſtice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to diſavow theſe Uſurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Juſtice and of Conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the Neceſſity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

WE, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly Publiſh and Declare, That theſe United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are abſolved from all Allegiance to the Britiſh Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, eſtabliſh Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the ſupport of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our ſacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER *and in* BEHALF *of the* CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ATTEST.
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

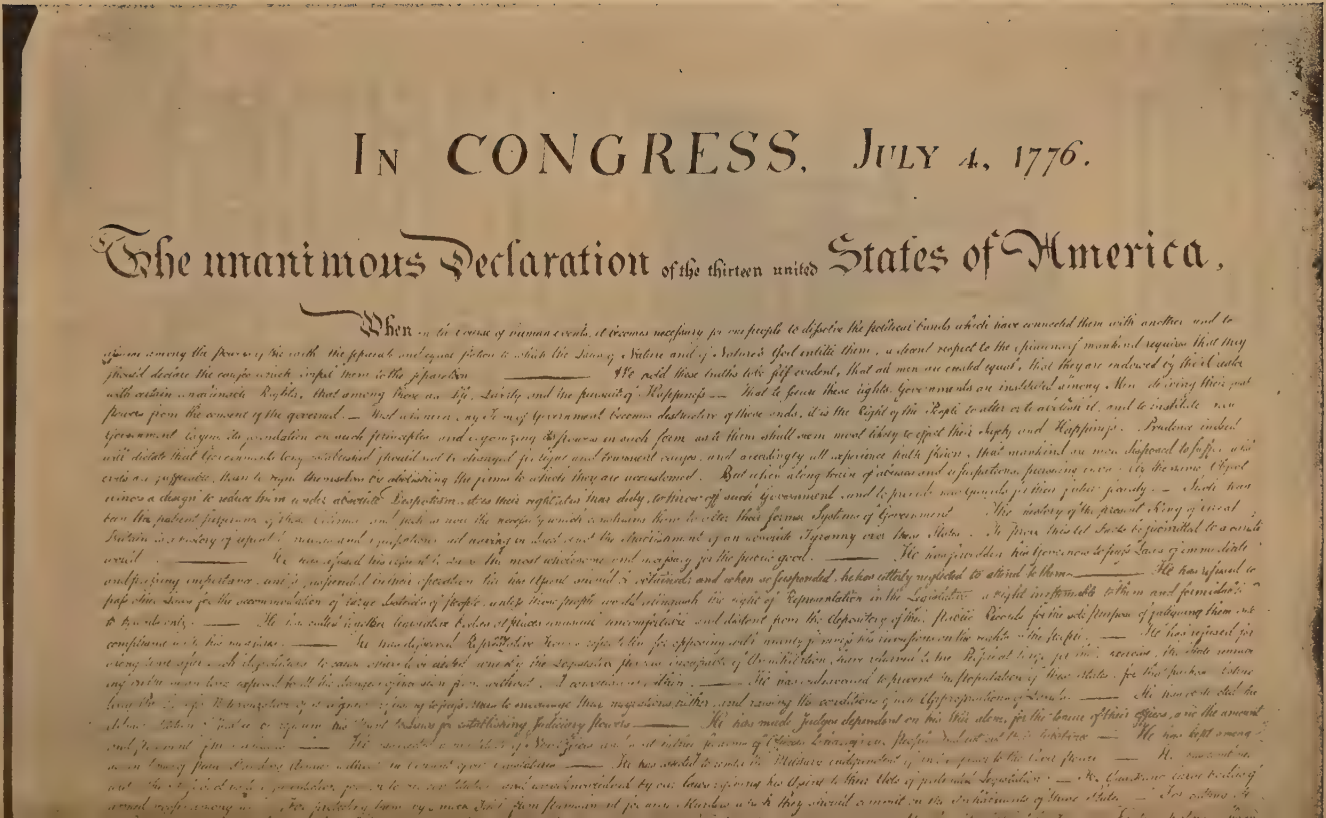
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AS IT WAS FIRST PRINTED FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

1776 blies and, on the sixth, the document was printed in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post.*

Signing the Declaration

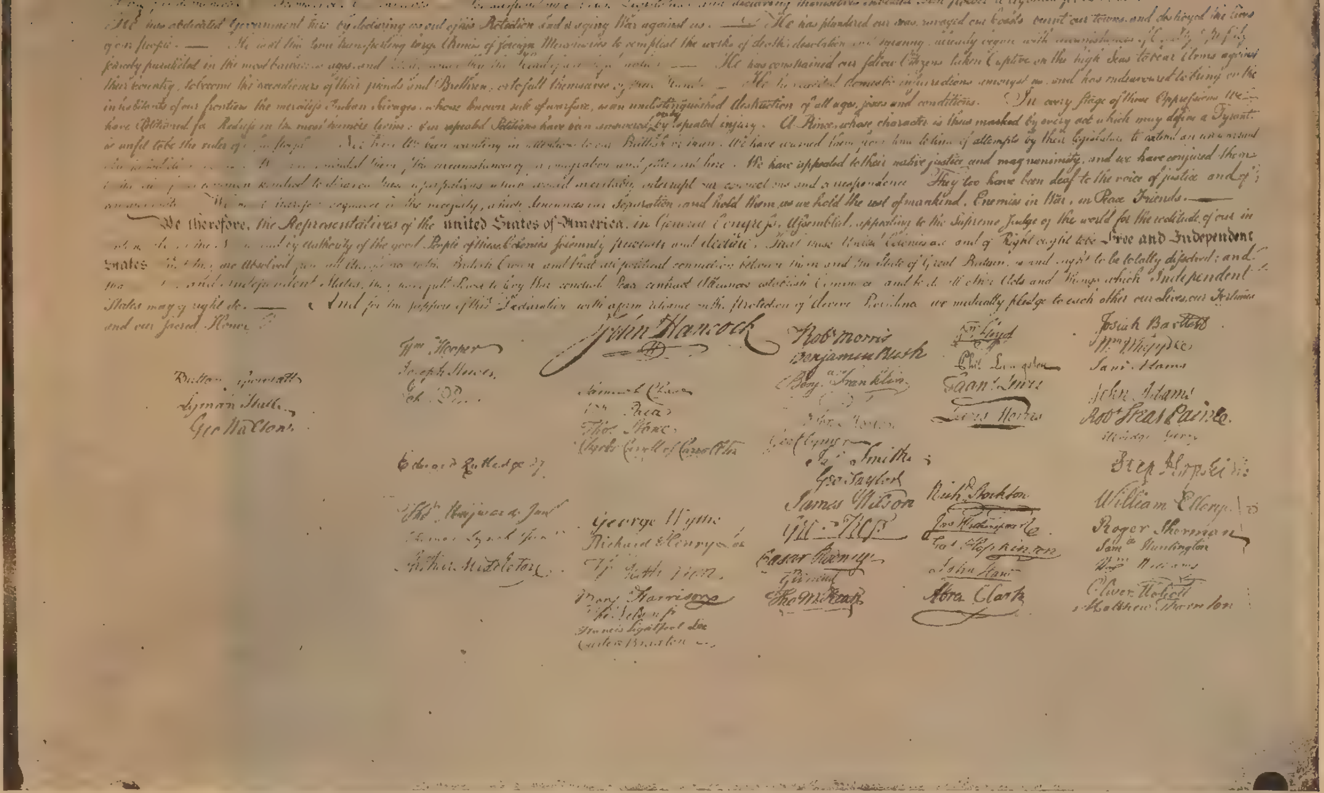
Contrary to the generally received opinion, the document was not signed at this time excepting possibly by the president and the secretary of the congress. On the nineteenth, four days after it was known by the congress that New York had assented to the measure, it was ordered that the document should be "fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America;' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of the Congress." Most of the members, but not all, appended their signatures on the second of August; according to some accounts, McKean of Delaware did not sign until 1781. In the interval between the adoption of the declaration and its signing, the membership of congress changed; consequently, the "Signers" were not quite identical with the delegates who declared independence. Seven who signed, Thornton, Williams, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor, and Ross, were not members on the fourth of July; seven who were members at that time, Clinton, Alsop, Robert R. Liv-

Table and Chair used at the Signing of the Declaration of Independence



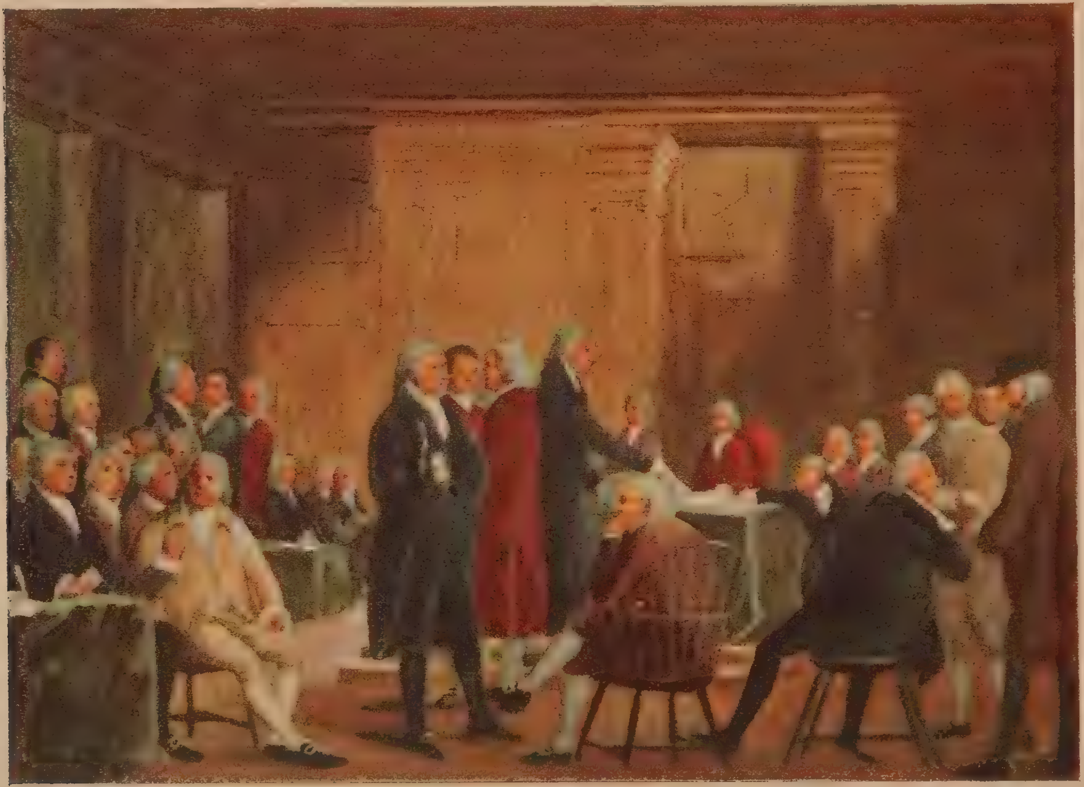
IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,



Engraved Facsimile of the Declaration of Independence

(This facsimile was made in 1823 by order of President Monroe, when John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State. It was the first ever prepared and much injury was done to the parchment in the process of making it. Two hundred copies were authorized by Congress for distribution to signers, their heirs, and others)



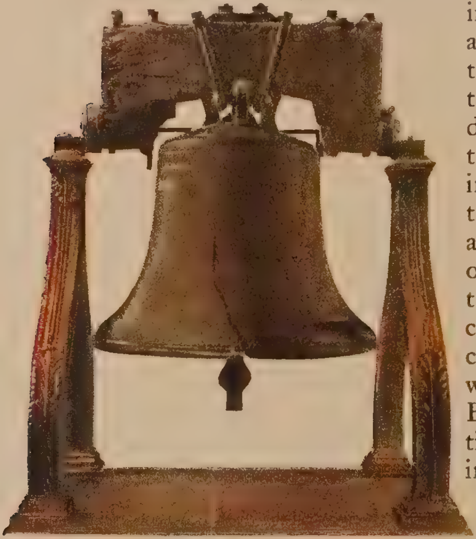
"The Congress Voting Independence"

Close facsimile of original painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Painted by Robert Edge Pine, but unfinished at his death in 1788 and completed by Edward Savage. This picture was painted in the very room in which the event commemorated was enacted. Trumbull's famous "Declaration of Independence" was undoubtedly based to some extent upon it, though in the matter of the architecture of the room, Trumbull departs from his model.

1776 ingston, Wisner, Willing, Humphreys, and Rogers, did not sign. It is clear that, in the minds of the delegates, the act of signing did not have the importance that it has since attained. "The unanimous adoption of the Declaration was the important event, the signing a mere final touch, an after-thought." The names of the signers were withheld by congress for more than six months. "It was only common prudence, for this overt act of treason, if not made good, might bring the signers to the gallows. Congress was always aware of its danger and, besides sitting with closed doors, withheld even from its secret journals some of its most important proceedings."

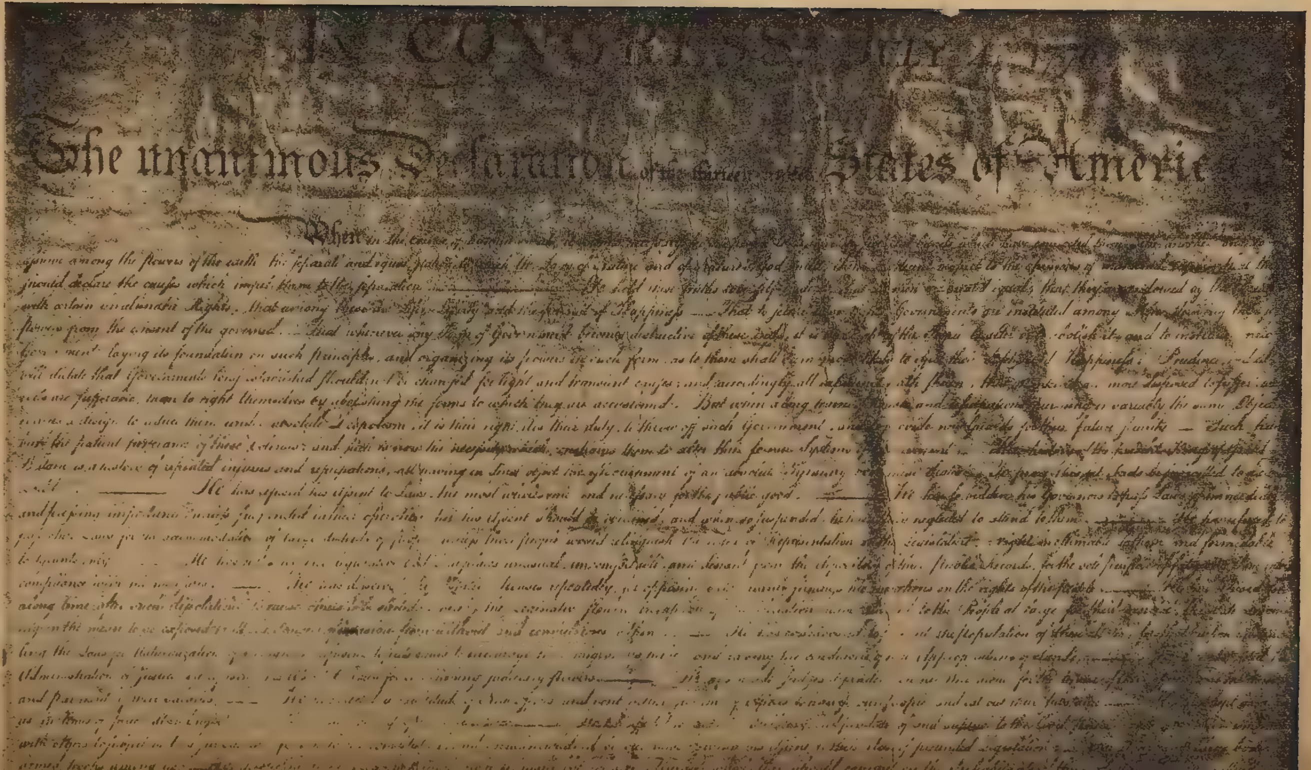
Iconoclasm

Another popular error is that there was any considerable immediate rejoicing or frantic outburst of enthusiasm in Philadelphia over the adoption of the declaration. As a matter of history, there was no marked demonstration until noon, the eighth of July, when, in the state-house yard, the declaration was read to an assemblage composed of members of the continental and provincial congresses, militia, and citizens. Not until then was the "so-called Liberty Bell" rung and, by that time, bells were being rung in dozens of other towns and villages. "There is," says Friedenwald, "no shadow of authority for associating the ringing of the bell with the announcement of the agreement upon independence."



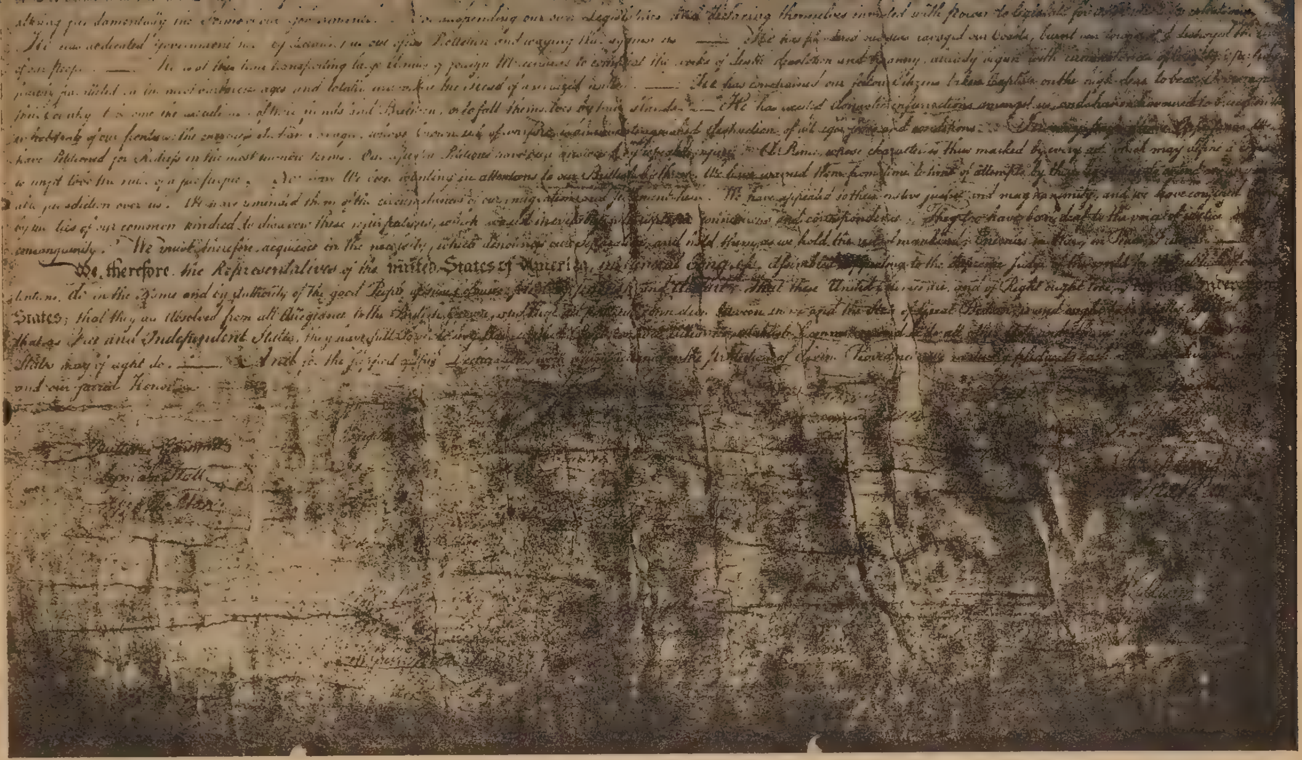
The "Liberty Bell"

As couriers, by order of congress, scattered copies of the declaration over the country, many received the tid-



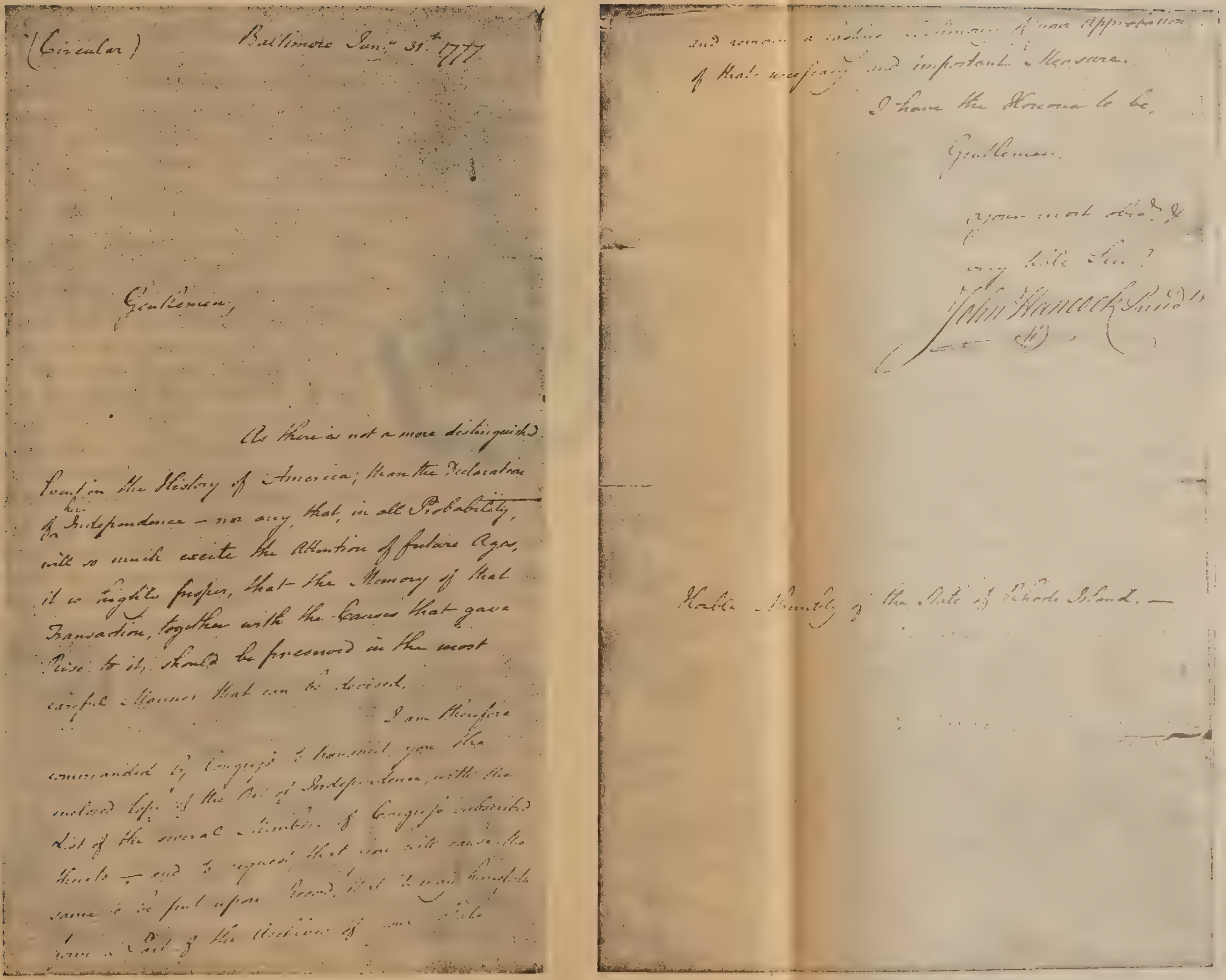
IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of Americ



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1893)

The original parchment, now badly cracked and faded, is preserved in the Department of State, Washington



(Circular) Baltimore Janʸ 31st 1777

Gentlemen,

As there is not a more distinguished Point in the History of America, than the Declaration of her Independence — nor any, that, in all Probability, will so much excite the Attention of future Ages, it is highly proper, that the Memory of that Transaction, together with the Causes that gave Rise to it, should be preserved in the most careful Manner that can be devised.

I am therefore commanded by Congress to transmit you the inclosed Copy of the Act of Independence, with the List of the several Members of Congress subscribed thereto — and to request, that you will cause the same to be put upon Record, that it may hereafter form a Part of the Archives of your State, and remain a lasting Testimony of your Approbation of that necessary and important Measure.

I have the Honour to be,
Gentlemen,
your most obed.ᵗ &
very hble Serv.ᵗ
John Hancock Presid.ᵗ

Honble Assembly of the State of Rhode Island. —

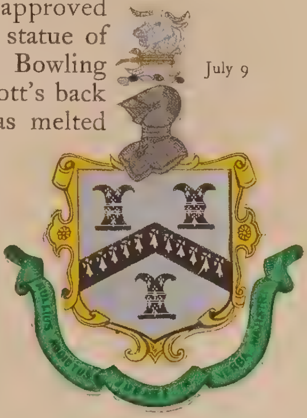
Hancock's Letter to the Rhode Island Assembly, requesting that the Declaration of Independence be entered upon its Records
From original deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, Providence

1776

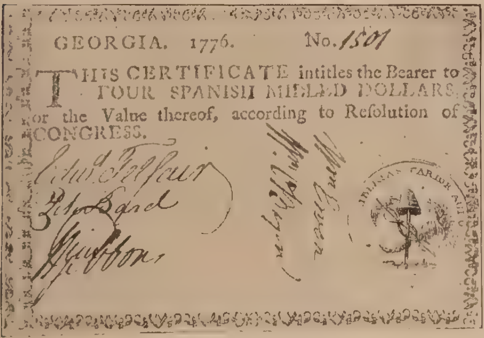
How the Declaration was Received

ings with thankful prayer and enthusiastic demonstration. They rested from their daily toil and gathered, as on gala-days, in church and on village green, before state-houses and at city halls. There were parades with roll of drum and roar of cannon, bonfires, feasts, and toasts. Emblems of royalty were thrown down and burned or buried. In New York, the declaration was formally approved by the new convention, and the leaden statue of George III. was thrown down in the Bowling Green. It is said that in Oliver Wolcott's back garden at Litchfield, Connecticut, it was melted into bullets to be sent "straight to the hearts of King George's troops." On the ninth of July, Washington, then at New York, issued a general order that the declaration be read to each brigade at six o'clock and copies thereof freely distributed. On the same day, he wrote to General Ward to "cause this Declaration to be immediately proclaimed at the head of the Continental regiments in the Massachusetts Bay." On the tenth, he wrote to the president of congress that the declaration had been proclaimed before all the army under his immediate command and "that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent; the expressions and behavior, both of officers and men testifying their warmest approbation of it"—a characteristically conservative description of the wild plaudits of the army. Samuel Adams wrote: "The

July 9



Coat of Arms of Oliver Wolcott



GEORGIA. 1776. No. 1501

THIS CERTIFICATE intitles the Bearer to FOUR SPANISH MILLED DOLLARS, or the Value thereof, according to Reſolution of CONGRESS.

Georgia Currency, Issue of 1776

1776 people, I am told, recognize the resolution as though it was a decree from Heaven." So tardy were the means of communication that the declaration was not known at Savannah until the tenth of August when it was read "amid the acclamations of the congregated citizens." In the evening, the town was illuminated and his majesty, King George III., was interred in effigy with all solemnity. The joy, was, however, by no means universal; even good Whigs "trembled at the thought of separation from Great Britain" and some conservatives who had favored resistance went over to the loyalist party. The Tories denounced the measure with vehemence, of course, and one of their rhymesters wrote:

> May congress, conventions, those damn'd inquisitions,
> Be fed with hot sulphur from Lucifer's kitchens.

Tomorrow

In spite of some indefensible political philosophy and some impracticable ideas, the "self-evident" truths of the declaration united the patriots in pursuit of a definite aim and made a backward step impossible. The English historian, Buckle, says that a copy of it "ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace." But long years of toil and bloodshed were to elapse before it could be made good. England had been girding up her loins, and the year that had witnessed the birth of the new nation was to see it tottering upon the brink of ruin.

In CONGRESS, July 4. 1776.
The unanimous
tes of America.

APPENDICES

THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS — DECLARATION OF RIGHTS AND GRIEVANCES, ADOPTED OCTOBER 19, 1765

(See page 63)

THE members of this Congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to his Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent; having considered as maturely as time will permit, the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion, respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labour, by reason of several late acts of parliament.

I. That his Majesty's subjects in these colonies, owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body the parliament of Great-Britain.

II. That his Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies, are intitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects, within the kingdom of Great-Britain.

III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no Taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and, from their local circumstances, cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great-Britain.

V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

VI. That all supplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great-Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of the colonists.

VII. That trial by jury, is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.

VIII. That the late act of parliament, entitled, *An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, etc.*, by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

IX. That the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

X. That as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately center in Great-Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the crown.

XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late acts of parliament on the trade of these colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great-Britain.

XII. That the increase, prosperity and happiness of these colonies, depend on the full and free enjoyments of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great-Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies to petition the king, or either house of parliament.

Lastly, That it is the indispensible duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, and humble application to both houses of parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce.

THE VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS, ADOPTED MAY 16, 1769

(See page 101)

RESOLVED, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the sole Right of imposing Taxes on the Inhabitants of this his Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia is now, and ever hath been, legally and constitutionally vested in the House of Burgesses, lawfully convened according to the ancient and established Practice, with the Consent of the Council, and of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain, or his Governor for the Time being.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that it is the undoubted Privilege of the Inhabitants of this Colony, to petition their Sovereign for Redress of Grievances; and that it is lawful and expedient to procure the Concurrence of his Majesty's other Colonies in dutiful Addresses, praying the royal Interposition in Favour of the Violated Rights of America.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all Trials for Treason, Misprision of Treason, or for any Felony of Crime whatsoever committed and done in this his Majesty's said Colony and Dominion by any Person or Persons residing therein, ought of right to be held and conducted in and before his Majesty's Courts held within his said Colony, according to the fixed and known Course of Proceeding; and that the seizing of any Person or Persons residing in this Colony, suspected of any Crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such Person or Persons to Places beyond the Sea to be tried, is highly derogatory of the Rights of British Subjects, as thereby the inestimable Privilege of being tried by a Jury from the Vicinage, as well as the Liberty of summoning and producing Witnesses on such Trial, will be taken away from the Party accused.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that an humble, dutiful, and loyal Address be presented to his Majesty, to assure him of our inviolable Attachment to his sacred Person and Government, and to beseech his royal Interposition, as the Father of all his People, however remote from the Seat of his Empire, to quiet the Minds of his loyal Subjects of this Colony, and to avert from them those Dangers and Miseries which will ensue from the seizing and carrying beyond Sea any Person residing in America, suspected of any Crime whatsoever, to be tried in any other Manner than by the ancient and long established Course of Proceedings.

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THE following lists are intended to be helpful to the student of this volume by way of suggestion for supplementary reading; they are not offered as complete lists of works consulted by the author. Helpful suggestions are contained in the paragraph introductory to the bibliographical appendix to the first volume of this work. Valuable side-lights on many of the topics herein considered may be found in other general histories of the United States, such as Bancroft's, Hildreth's, etc., some of which are cited in the appendix to the first volume. As the reader can easily find what he wants by reference to the indexes of those works, the following lists omit such references. The general arrangement of this bibliography is similar to that used in the preceding volumes.

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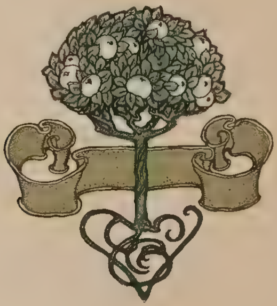

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